DALMATIA

AND THE JUGOSLAV MOVEMENT

COUNT LOUIS
VOINOVITCH

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God.
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BOMBAY BRANCH

OF THE

Royal Asiatic Society.

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ETHNOGRAPHIC MAP
OF
DALMATIA

CENSUS
of the population of Dalmatia in 1910

Districts			
Total	610 633	182 [illegible]	6 158

Arisen in the name of National Right we believe in yours, and proffer you our help to conquer it. . . . Unite!

MAZZINI, To the Southern Slavs.

Trampled upon for so many centuries, we have not lost the proud nobility of the soul. . . . Blush not, Dalmatia, for thine origin!

TOMMASÈO, *Scintilla* xxxii.

So strong is our conviction, Gentlemen, that if we were proposed the most advantageous treaties at the cost of the slightest violation of the principle of nationality, we should reject them without hesitation.

CAVOUR, 1860.

TABLE

OF

SERBO-CROATIAN PRONUNCIATION.

c = ts in Tsar
ć = t in nature
č = ch in church
dj = g in George
h = ch in loch
j = y in you
lj = lu (without oo sound) in illumine
nj = nu (without oo sound) in nuisance
š = sh in ship
ž = z in azure

Vowels as in modern pronunciation of Latin

PREFACE

THE writer of this work, Count Lujo Vojnović, is peculiarly qualified both by his origin and connections to supply a true estimate of the place occupied by Dalmatia, not only as regards the Slav mainland to which it belongs, but in relation to Italian civilization of the opposite coast that has at all times so greatly influenced it. Born of an old Ragusan family, he has had the initial advantage of surveying those intricate Italo-Slav relations from the point of view of that aristocratic Republic which, while it never, like the other Dalmatian cities, passed under the Venetian yoke, and clung throughout to its Serbian mother speech, did more than any South Slav centre to adapt the Italian literary spirit. Count Lujo, I may add, belongs to a distinguished family. His father, Count Constantine Vojnović, was one of the earliest and most eloquent advocates of South Slav union. His brother Ivo claims a very high place among the living poets of Jugoslavia.

I have had myself the privilege of Count Lujo's acquaintance for many years, and can vouch for the fact that, if the conclusions of his present work are fatal to Italian pretensions to his native land, it is not from any want of perception of the cultural debt which Dalmatia and his native city owe to their great neighbour over-sea or of friendship to the Italian people.

DALMATIA AND THE JUGOSLAV MOVEMENT

As an Englishman, both as traveller and resident, my acquaintance with Dalmatia is not of to-day or yesterday. I have indeed visited the province in its remotest nooks, and have a personal acquaintance with every class of its inhabitants. For seven years of my life, indeed, I had my headquarters at Ragusa, and I can thoroughly endorse the views that are put forward by the author of this work by my long experiences.

The idea that any part of Dalmatia is at the present day in any true sense Italian is a pure delusion —though for purposes of political propaganda and imperialistic greed that illusion has been fostered far and wide. It is possible indeed to go much further than this and to affirm that at no period of history could Dalmatia be truly described as an Italian province. It is true that, after immense efforts, renewed through over two centuries of ceaseless campaigns, Rome succeeded in mastering the native Illyrian population, and planted her colonies on a series of points along the coastland. When in the seventh century of our era, in the wake of Avar hordes, Slavonic settlers of the Serbo-Croat stock occupied the country, a certain proportion of these Roman municipal organizations survived as islands in a barbaric sea. For a while they sought support from the Byzantine Exarchate, just as later they divided their allegiance between Hungary and Venice, but the remarkable ethnic phenomenon with which we have to deal is that by the tenth or eleventh century, though its municipal tradition survived in the principal cities of its littoral and islands, the Latin-speaking element within their walls had been practically submerged by gradual infiltration from the surrounding

population of Slavonic stock and assimilated to it. It may be added moreover as a curious fact, that the old Romance dialects of the East Adriatic coastland, of which only traces now survive in the Slav vernacular, did not themselves even belong to the Italian family. That for social and diplomatic purposes the ruling caste at Ragusa made considerable use of the Tuscan language, that the political subjection of a large part of Dalmatia to Venice promoted the popular use of a *lingua franca* in the Venetian dialect, are phenomena that must not obscure the fact that the home speech of the Dalmatians from the Early Middle Ages onwards has been the Serbo-Croat. The dominion of Venice indeed was itself wholly dissociated from the idea of propagating the Italian language in any form; in fact, the only colony that Venice planted on the coast was Albanian-speaking.

If we examine the names of eminent artists and architects of Dalmatia in Mediaeval and Renaissance times, they will be found almost exclusively to point to a Slavonic origin, and it is well known that some of these, like Andrew Medulić ("Il Schiavone") and Julius Glović (Clovio) transferred their activities to Italian soil. The same is true of the brilliant group of Dalmatian poets and dramatists, the special centre of whom was at Ragusa. It is equally true that, great as was the indebtedness of Dalmatian art and literature to Italian models, the native element was never lost nor were these models by any means exclusively Italian. For what is perhaps the noblest monument of Mediaeval Dalmatia, the Cathedral of Traù, the prototypes have to be sought in a more northern region—not beyond the Adriatic but beyond the Drave.

According to the best existing statistics of the Dalmatian population, about 97 per cent. is Serbo-Croat and not more than 3 per cent. Italian. Casting my own memory back some forty years, and with an intimate knowledge of the whole country, I can confidently affirm that there was nothing that could be called a real Italian population in Dalmatia at all. Even the small "Autonomist" faction, which feared that union with the Slav lands beyond Dinara, would swamp the traditional elements of Dalmatian culture, which had been so largely due to Italian influence, did not deny their own Slavonic nationality. That a portion of these should now proclaim themselves to be Italians is of course their own affair, but the personal names of these "Italians," too often betray their Slav parentage. Of the unfortunate result of this racial schism, the small town of Zara, where alone the adherents of Italy can claim to be the majority of the population, is likely to prove a melancholy example. It is not difficult to foresee the disastrous consequences of its divorce in any form from the mainland to which it is bound by geographical, economic, and in the truest sense by ethnic ties.

But as for handing over to Italy—as was actually proposed by the Secret Treaty of London—not only the littoral and islands, all solidly Serbo-Croat, but a large mainland region—including some of the most fervid centres of Jugoslav nationalism—the proposal can only be described as as unrealizable in practice as it is indefensible on any theory that takes count of the rights of peoples. A strange boon indeed of the Allies to Italy to aid her to place a "Trojan horse" within her walls!

ARTHUR EVANS.

TO THE READER

THE last great sale of nations took place in Vienna in 1815.

In spite of their express declaration that they were fighting Napoleon in the cause of independence and freedom of the nations, the allied Powers instituted the so-called "Statistical Commissions," within whose circle the whole pernicious Treaty of Vienna was elaborated.

Peoples were passed from hand to hand during the debates of the Commissions like so many flocks of sheep. Historic rights were invoked, and strategic, political, and economic considerations. The Commissions only consulted the wishes of the strongest The Austrian Imperial and Royal police took good care to render the air of Vienna exceedingly uncongenial to the representatives of the poor and oppressed.

Whole provinces and kingdoms were assigned to one or other of the great Sovereigns convened to Vienna after Leipzig and Waterloo, in accordance with the convention that each of them had to own so many thousands of square miles and so many hundreds of thousands of human souls.

Thus, twenty years after the storming of the Bastille, was born the Europe of the Congress of Vienna.

And Austria was the great octopus, the most

successful trader. Italians, Slavs, Germans were sold to her without a qualm, without afterthought, without considering, that from these Statistical Commissions would arise, not figures, but human beings. There would arise avengers of that National Right which in itself includes precisely all those other considerations which the predatory States consider superior to or distinct from the *raison d'être* of a people.

The present war is merely the final act of the great national drama opened in 1815.

And to-day, while all Europe is re-echoing with the cry of the victims of rapine and violence; to-day, when the civilized world is passing through the most tremendous ordeal in the cause of the final liberation of the nations, the sad memories of 1815, powdered and painted after the scientific recipes of Pangermanism, are once more brought to light, and that precisely in the very land which was the greatest sufferer under the "Statistical Commissions" of 1815.

A group of reckless politicians, separating themselves from the vast majority of the nation, and anxious to compete with the past masters of the Germanic "strenuous life," have to-day revised the axiom of 1815, to the detriment of the small nations of the Slav race.

For this group, all nationalities—saving its own—are "mere external statistical data"—as in 1815; "the rural masses are devoid of national consciousness"—as in 1815; "the Slavs are an inferior race, and must submit to the ascendancy of the Latin race, which is superior and destined to command as the former is to obey"—which is the German thesis.

All imaginable arguments—historical, economic, geographical, military, political and finally geological and botanical—are being invoked both separately and collectively in order to impede the final rise of a people.

The Slovenes, they say, have been invented or imported by Austria. The Croats are peasants, devoid of national consciousness, owing their existence beside the Adriatic to Austria. The Serbs are an Oriental race having nothing in common with the Croats. The Adriatic is not a sea, but a lake, and an Italian lake at that, whose eastern shores are inhabited exclusively by Italians. Dalmatia is a Latin and Italian country. The Slav population of that province, which has contributed more to the splendid movement for Jugoslav unity—the movement hailed with joy by Giuseppe Mazzini —than any other Slav province, is degraded to the status of an amorphous mass, devoid of any kind of Slav consciousness, to-day Austrian, and to-morrow Italian at will.

To these detractors of the Slav soul one may justly apply the anathema hurled by Tommasèo against the as yet timid defamers of the Slavs of his day :—

" Barbarians insulting unknown foreigners, have at least the excuse of pure ignorance and their own savage customs ; and they put blood into it and life ; but these academic vandals, these conquerors of ante-chambers, shed ink and spittle for blood."

Against the cynical sophisms so liberally disseminated by this group of politicians and a few apostates to their own nationality we in these pages oppose the irresistible eloquence of fact. Against an ingeni-

ous tissue of lies we propose to marshal the witnesses of the past, the men who actually took part in the political struggles in Dalmatia. Before all Europe, and without having recourse to treacherous interpreters of their thought, they will depose in favour of the nationality and the aspirations of Dalmatia. These depositions are intended to serve as a warning to the statesmen of Italy and of Europe. They constitute a contribution to the future peace, which cannot be either sincere or lasting so long as there is any instability about the edifice of justice and liberty which Allied Europe intends to establish on the ruins of lies and brute force.

Why beat about the bush? A party which is a menace to the future peace of Europe is gaining numerous proselytes to the design of Germanism through the reconstitution of the anti-Slav *bloc* of the Congress of Berlin. It is counting upon the unconscious complicity of the Liberal Powers. The danger is grave, and it is necessary to organize our defences.

We believe, however, and that most fervently, that the work of justice will find its most potent defender in the Italian people itself. The Italian soul, kindly, generous, liberal and alien to every manifestation of Imperialism—which is by its definition "a policy of aggression and conquest"—vibrates altogether in those solemn words of Cavour:—

"So strong is our conviction, gentlemen, that, if we were proposed the most advantageous treaties at the cost of even the slightest violation of the principle of nationality, we should reject them without hesitation."

These men know full well the loyalty of the Italian people to the pure and sacred origin of its unity. And because they know it, they endeavour to disguise conquest by affixing the nationalist label. They try to mislead public opinion in Italy and in Europe by representing purely, indomitably Slav countries as Italian, and their own propaganda as the establishment of national claims, as the last word of the Risorgimento.

The following pages are a protest against such trickery.

More than six hundred thousand Slav souls of Dalmatia, who, together with other millions, inhabit an uninterruptedly continuous territory, applaud in chorus the words of the great Italian statesman and refuse to disappear. They refuse to submit to the " statistical " outrage of 1815. To the sophisms of an exiguous minority, which would draw arguments for conquest and oppression from an historical incident, from a beneficent civilizing influence, they reply in the words of Taine :—

" Although the genius of a people may yield before a foreign influence, it will reassert itself ; because the former is temporary, whereas the latter is eternal, it is one with the flesh and blood, with the air and the soil, the structure and the peculiar action of the senses and the brain ; these are the vital forces which renew themselves continually, which are ever-present, forces which the transient admiration of a superior civilization can neither destroy nor diminish."

Moreover, as we cannot repeat too often, the profound and traditional good sense of the Italian people have thoroughly realized this fact. It has realized that the problem of Dalmatia differs essen-

tially from the problem of the regions lying between the Alps and Cape Promontorio. In spite of all the efforts of the heralds of Panitalianism, the nation has not allowed itself to be led astray. Even in political circles the greatest divergency of opinion prevails with regard to Dalmatia, ranging from the emphatic Mazzinian renunciations of Signor Bissolati to the purely covetous aspirations of the party improperly called Nationalist,—unmistakable proof of the discord prevailing in the soul of Italy, driven reluctantly towards an adventure in which it can discern neither material advantage nor moral success.

Maps are of no value as guides. The insolent "scientific" mystifications of a "toponomastica" —an exotic word recalling Molière's Latin—which, not daring to Italianize the Slav names—a course most disgracefully pursued in the Slovene lands—caused them in hundreds of cases to be printed in red letters in orthographically Italian spelling, aroused merely ill-concealed disgust among sober-minded Italians. An outspoken word, supported by incontrovertible facts, may yet furnish with invaluable weapons those who would place Italy, her honour and her future above the facile attractions offered to the Italian people by the plagiarizers of an imperialist spirit which is alien to its nature, to its *raison d'être*, and to its mission in the world.

Amidst all this clamour Dalmatia, this Poland of our race, is now silent, but her awakening will be terrible for those who would betray her soul. She, when she comes to learn of the conflict which is raging to-day around her fate, will be at a loss to understand how there could have been even one moment's doubt about her, and about the indissoluble

ties that bind her to the Slav soul. Her right to resume the course of her own national life after the collapse of Austria and Hungary is obvious; it is a fundamental feature of her history, of her life.

Language, history, the soul of the nation have been invoked to serve as pretexts for her subjugation to a foreign rule! Grave indiscretions, which will be summarily dealt with in these pages!

Dalmatia has revealed her language in her national songs and ballads and in the harmonious and virile speech of her people. She has borne witness to her aspirations by the electoral ballot.

And as regards her history, only those periods may claim her which are bound up with her national right. These periods are rare in a history of millennial sorrows, but all the more precious in a moment like the present, in which vast hopes and distant horizons are disclosed.

Bound by pacts and conditions to a dynasty, under which she hoped to realize at least in part her aspirations to a joint life with the rest of her Slav sisters, to a dynasty which subsequently to her detriment violated the most sacred of oaths, she is now preparing automatically to resume, together with her sisters, the right to decide her own destiny, on the granite foundation of the Principle of Nationality.

Let no one speak of "cession" to Serbia or to any other power, as if it were a case of ceding anational, amorphous territories by way of political, commercial or strategic compensation after the pattern of the peace of Campoformio. Serbia—and it is well to know this—has no more *right* to Dalmatia than any other State. Rather is it the

Principle of Nationality and those eternal laws which are infallibly entailed by this principle which imperatively *demand* the union of these lands with Serbia. What were the rights that led Piedmont to lay claim to Venice and Tuscany, if not the sole, eternal right of nationality ?

The author of these pages is counting upon the good sense of the Italian people to discredit the great fraud which is sheltering itself beneath the shadow of the glorious tricoloured banner. For if deceit and violence were to triumph over historic truth and the will of an entire people, then Europe would have to prepare for fresh convulsions and in the meantime have to resign itself to see the work of justice and liberty gravely imperilled, a work which has been cemented by hecatombs, whose equal is not recorded in history.

Let Europe consider this !

ROME, *August* 1916.

FOREWORD TO THE ENGLISH EDITION

THE author of *La Dalmatie, l'Italie et l'Unité Yougoslave* (for this is the original title of the volume, published in French and Italian, at Geneva in October 1917, when the war was at its height) now presents his book to the English-speaking public under the title of *Dalmatia and the Southern Slav Movement.*

This book, sincere and unpretentious as it is, has already met with a cordial reception in Entente political circles, in spite of the state of siege in which all Europe was placed in 1917, and the immense difficulties besetting the circulation of a book published in a neutral country.

Perhaps the moment has come when the British and American public will be more at leisure to give attention to detailed information about Dalmatia and so get a clearer insight into one of the aspects of the Adriatic problem which is of so vital an interest to the future political charter of Eastern Europe.

If the facts set down in these pages had been generally known in 1915, would the disastrous secret Treaty of London have been signed? I prefer to think not. In any case, a greater measure

of justice would have been brought to bear upon the making of it, and the party chiefly interested in it—Serbia, to wit—would have been consulted (I refrain from mentioning the other Slav regions of the Adriatic, to whom the same principle ought to have been applied; at this moment we are concerned only with Dalmatia).

The Slav character of Dalmatia is no longer doubted by anybody. There is no contention at once more easy and more difficult to maintain. Easy, because the facts are obvious. Difficult, because these very facts have been obscured by flamboyant rhetoric and insincerity, compound of deception and casuistry, such as history, political and social, has not witnessed within memory of man.

But this is not all,—and I would even say that it is not the most important consideration, nor one which would by itself warrant the appearance of this book (although the quest of truth is always a very important matter!). What in the opinion of my numerous British and French friends amply warrants the appearance of this volume even *after* the signing of the Treaties of Versailles and of St. Germain-en-Laye, is the fact that these pages, while dealing with a special subject, contain incidentally a general and comprehensive view of world policy, and—to put it plainly—the condemnation of imperialism.

Dalmatia's past and present, in fact, give the lie direct to all imperial conquests based on a wilful and pernicious confusion of the term *civilization* with that of *nationality*, on a barbarous postulate of a quasi-divine mission of domination

devolving upon a nation, assumed to be more civilized, over another one assumed to be less so (and where, moreover, is the standard which permits us to draw this distinction ?).

It is this element in higher politics and sociology *en marche*—to borrow a favourite expression of Taine's—which invests an impartial book upon Dalmatia with permanent and universal value.

Apart from this, the ethical and ethnical sides of the question, there is the most important one of practical politics. By her position, Dalmatia represents to-day, as always, the *modulation* from Italian to Jugoslav culture, and the commercial intermediary between Italy and Jugoslavia. She is a most important section of the great bridge between Central and South-Eastern Europe, the other sections being the Croatian littoral and the Slovene Adriatic regions. This bridge is an integral structure, and it is ethnically and geographically one with the rest of the Jugoslav lands. To break it up politically would be not only a crime, but a danger to the peace of all Europe. Under such conditions, Dalmatia would no longer be able to play the part of connecting link. From being part of a well-constructed bridge, she would in fact lapse to the position of an exposed outpost of our young Jugoslav State, no longer helpful and friendly, but distrustful and vigilant in her attitude.

May the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon world find in this work an echo of the great principle of liberty, self-determination and human dignity, which forms the woof of the history of this great and virile race. Unless this principle triumphs in the solution of the Adriatic problem

and in that of all similar problems in suspense, the European peace will be merely an armistice between two carnages.

I tender my most cordial thanks to Miss Fanny S. Copeland and to Dr. R. W. Seton-Watson for their kindness and trouble in condensing my volume into an admirable English version, worthy in every way of the importance and gravity of the questions at issue.

L. V.

PARIS,
December 1919.

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NOTE

THE author has decided to employ the Italian names of the coast towns and islands of Dalmatia, because the European public at large is more familiar with them. But this is not to be taken as an indication that they are more ancient than the Slav names of the same towns. Moreover, public opinion in Europe would be gravely in error if it were to conclude from the Italian forms of these names that these Dalmatian towns were of ancient Italian origin, and if it were to believe that this circumstance furnished an indirect proof of *hereditary "Italianity."* Nothing could be more mistaken. All the names of the Dalmatian isles and towns of the littoral are of *Illyrian* or *Greek* origin. Not one is of Latin or of Italian origin. And one—Sebenico (Šibenik)—is of Slav origin. Thus neither Italians nor Slavs can claim the sponsorship for these names.

Zara and Ragusa are towns with Illyrian names. Spalato, Traù, Cattaro, Brazza, Lesina or Faria, Curzola, Meleda, are towns with Greek names. Thus the Illyrians and the Greeks, and neither the Italians nor the Slavs were the parents who named them.

Take *Zara*, for instance, the Latin of which name is *Jadera*, which is an Illyrian name (the Latin title of the Archbishop of Zara is to this day *Archiepiscopus Jadertinus*); moreover, the Slav form "*Zadar*" is a far better rendering of the Illyrian form of "*Jadera*" than is the Italian "Zara" of far more recent date.

The name of *Ragusa* is also of Illyrian origin. Both Raguz and Ragus occur in Bosnia as place-names. The Sicilian Ragusa is of Arab origin; a by no means infrequent instance of morphological identity between two completely distinct languages.

Dubrovnik, the Slav name of Ragusa, is not a translation.

It is the name given in the eighth century by the Slavs to the little Græco-Illyrian city of Ragusa, and it means the Grove of Oaks (Dub=Quercus).

The same remarks apply to *Spalato*, Slav *Spljet* (from the Greek *Aspalaton*, and not from the Latin *Palatium*); to *Trau*, Slav *Trogir* (from the Greek *Tragurion*, more faithfully preserved in the Slav transcription); to *Brazza*, Slav *Brač* (from the Greek *Brachia*); to *Curzola*, Slav *Korčula* (from the Greek *Corcyra*); to *Meleda*, Slav *Mljet* (from the Greek *Melita*); to *Faria* (from the Greek *Pharion*, which the Slavs have accurately transcribed *Hvar*, whereas Lesina is a more recent designation); etc.

An important Milanese paper went so far as to speak of the Slav nomenclature as "base travesties" (*Il Secolo*, May 3, 1917). The reader may judge of the correctness of this definition, which is, moreover, so insulting to all the Slavs.

As regards the *restoration* of the Italian place-names, a work undertaken through the efforts of the Italian Geographical Society, this is only one part of a well-known programme, which consists in disguising pure and simple conquest, anti-democratic annexation against the will of the people, so as to appear in accordance with the democratic principle of a national claim. This is the German system, condemned by Fustel de Coulanges, in his celebrated letter to Mommsen. But political and scientific Europe is on the alert; it will speak at the proper place and time.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

SINCE the beginning of the World War certain political circles have taken a delight in mystifying European public opinion in all matters concerning the Southern Slavs. They have even succeeded in making many people despair of obtaining veracious, succinct and convincing opinion on the subject, and have even begun to arouse doubts with regard to the most elementary facts of geography.

No country has suffered more than Dalmatia from these attacks of bad faith, which have taken the form of a systematic compaign of mis-statement, alike in matters geographical, political and historical. It is then high time to place the true facts on record, to tear aside the tissue of lies which have obscured the history of the Eastern Adriatic shore, and to place Europe in possession of realities, such as they present themselves to the impartial observer. It is high time to dispel the mists which have so long obscured the features of a country that may be described as the very cradle of the Southern Slav Idea and of the national aspirations to which it has given birth.

The Balkans form a peninsula like Italy and Spain. By a concourse of unfortunate historical circumstances they have not hitherto succeeded in winning unity and independence; but that is not a reason for

denying that they possess a character and nature of their own, and—despite the strata imposed by foreign civilization—a mission and a *raison d'être* entirely distinct from that of the Italian or Iberian peninsulas. The 400 miles of the Eastern Adriatic coast, with their hinterland varying from 40 to 2 miles in depth, and bordering upon three Serbo-Croat provinces—Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Montenegro—cannot be separated into isolated compartments. This coast and hinterland form a geological and geographical complement to the Slavo-Hellenic peninsula of the Balkans very far from their being an appendix of the orographic system of the Italian peninsula or being dominated by it. In the same way, from the political and national point of view, they form a single unit with the bordering Slav races. Without these countries they are nothing, without them they have no *raison d'être,* nay, they cannot exist. With these countries they are everything. They represent a glorious and eventful page in the long secular struggle of the Serbo-Croat race towards crystallization and political unity. Without the Adriatic coast the famous Illyrian triangle between Bulgaria (Timok), Hungary, German-Austria (the Save and Drave), Albania and the Ægean, would be a triangle no more. The Balkan peninsula would no longer be an island attached to the continent. The history of the Serbo-Croat people would be an insoluble riddle, its life an incident in the nomadic life of the nations.

The sea is the world's consecration, the national essence of those countries whose shores it washes. Dalmatia, which forms the main portion of the eastern

Adriatic shore, has been the lists where two rival principles have done battle—the centrifugal principle of a foreign sovereignty resting upon a colonial and maritime base, and the centripetal principle of a race which possesses the soil and the sea, and tends to form a single state unit. In the western portion of the Balkan peninsula Dalmatia plays exactly the same part as the coast of Venice and Ravenna in the eastern portion of the Appennine peninsula. Expressed differently, the eastern Adriatic coast forms the lung of the Serbo-Croat nation, just as the eastern coast of the Black Sea forms the lung of the Bulgarian nation. To deprive an individual or a nation of its lungs is to condemn it to death, without a chance of appeal. As long as the peoples of the hinterland of the Dalmatian coast or the Governments which ruled them, whether in pre-Slavonic or Slavonic times, still hoped to possess the coast and thus to breathe freely the Adriatic breezes, so long did they struggle, to the last drop of blood, for the possession of Dalmatia—in other words, for their maritime heritage.

It was only when all was extinguished to the east of Dalmatia, when all native States—the Kingdom of Croatia, the Servian Empire, the Kingdom of Bosnia, the Croato-Hungarian Kingdom—had become dependent that Venice could definitely lay hands on Dalmatia; and even then she only held it in a negative sense, not as an Italian, but as an Oriental Power. She held it lest the Turks should acquire it and lest the capital of her maritime Empire should be attacked by the fleets of the Sultan. Thus the existence of the Ottoman Empire was the condition upon which Venetian sovereignty, as at a later

date Austrian sovereignty, depended. The Slav districts were retained as colonies and garrisons against the Turks. After the fall of Venice the Habsburg Empire replaced her. The recent collapse of Turkey in Europe was the first great act in the drama of the deliverance of Dalmatia and other kindred Slav countries. The second act is the disappearance of Austrian domination. The prologue was the fall of Venetian rule. It is this rhythm which provides the clue to the whole history of Dalmatia. That province never played any part whatever in the political and national life of the Italian peninsula, save perhaps in the days of Rome and in the same sense as Gaul, Spain and Britain. Dalmatia could be a fragment of an empire without any national label. But no sooner did a national Power become apparent in the Balkans, than the Eastern Adriatic coast at once became conscious of its national attraction. This is the natural result of Dalmatia's geographical situation, as also is the axiomatic truth that no Power has ever succeeded in holding Dalmatia for long, without at the same time holding its hinterland. The two Serbo-Croat provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina are indissolubly bound to Dalmatia, as was admitted even by the champions of Dalmatian autonomy and by the few Italian statesmen who have devoted impartial study to the Balkan problem. If Venice was able to retain Dalmatia, while forced to abandon almost the whole of Bosnia, it was because behind Dalmatia she had Turkey, and above all the weak and corrupt Turkey of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. But in the days of the great Sultans of the sixteenth century Dalmatia was on the eve of being conquered

by the Turks, and powerful Christian leagues had to be organized in order to prevent the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea from becoming a Turkish province. In spite of all this, in spite also of the Homeric struggles of the Dalmatian people against the Turks, the latter more than once occupied large tracts of Dalmatian territory—for example the county of Vrana near Zara, which belonged to the Sandjak of the Lika till 1647; the fortress district of Klis (Clissa), near Spalato in 1537; and even for a certain time the whole of Dalmatia as far as the Narenta, save the coast towns and the county of Castelnuovo, near Cattaro.

It was only the Battle of Lepanto (1571) which averted the danger. But if the Turks had been driven from Bosnia in the seventeenth century, the victorious Power which replaced them would undoubtedly have wrested Dalmatia from their hands. The Republic of Ragusa awaited from the Empire, which had become the repository of Serbo-Croat national rights, the deliverance of Dalmatia from Venetian rule. But the Empire was weak and had to seek an alliance with Venice, which profited from this fact and from the victories of the Great Powers (the Germans, the Pope and the Poles) by retaining Dalmatia. But Venetian sovereignty, we repeat, was Oriental in character, like its sovereignty over the Ionian Islands, the Morea and Crete. Venice occupied Dalmatia as a military colony, and her rule was merely a long "provisorium," which affected no change of any kind in the mentality of Dalmatia or in the broad lines of her history.

It may be laid down as an axiom that every civil

Power which rests its might and prestige upon the consent of its peoples, is forced, if it possesses Bosnia, to acquire also its coast line, Dalmatia. It is an historical law of mutual dependence, that only remained in abeyance during the abnormal situation which pitted the Ottoman Empire against the maritime Republic at a period when the principle of nationality as a political force cannot be said to have existed.

Like every country still gravitating towards its national orbit and deprived by an unhappy fate of the appeasement which a national government brings in its train, Dalmatia reckons the centuries of her existence by the various foreign régimes by which she has been exploited. The main features which have dominated her history have been on the one hand the vacuum formed around her by the collapse of the various attempts on the part of the Slavs to group themselves politically in the Balkans, and on the other hand by the presence of a Great Power which has been at one and the same time Eastern and Western in character, and whose existence depended upon the control of the routes leading to the Mediterranean. Yet, despite all this, throughout these various régimes, and above all during the centuries of Venetian rule, Dalmatia has shown her attachment to the race which since time immemorial has struck root in her soil.

The history of Dalmatia till the close of the eighteenth century may be divided into five distinct periods :—

(1) Illyrian Dalmatia to the Roman Conquest (12 A.D.)

(2) Dalmatia as a Roman province (12-537).
(3) Dalmatia, under Byzantine rule, becomes a Slav country and forms part of a Slavonic Kingdom until the extinction of the Croat dynasty (537-1102).
(4) The Dalmatian Communes, the formation of the Slavonic States, and the struggle between Venice and Hungary (1102-1420).
(5) Dalmatia under Venetian rule (1420-1796).

We propose to pass these various periods in rapid review.

I. Illyrian Dalmatia.

The first known inhabitants of Dalmatia are the Illyrians, and it was an Illyrian tribe established between the rivers Krka and Narenta which gave its name to the province. These Illyrians may have been a proto-Slav branch; and recently there has been a revival of the theory of the Slavonic origin of the Illyrians. In any case Dalmatia, from the first days of her known history, appears to have been inhabited by one of the numerous tribes of the Balkan peninsula, having nothing in common with the races which formed the original structure of the Italian peninsula. From the first half of the fourth century B.C. numerous Celtic elements became mingled with the blood of the Illyrians, while all along the coast the Phœnicians and Greeks established themselves. Towards 390 B.C. we find the Syracusans on the island of Issa (Lissa) and about 385 B.C. on the island of Pharia (Lesina). Other Greek colonies were Corcyra Nigra (Curzola), Melita (Meleda), Ladosta (Lagosta), Brattia (Brazza), and Solentia

(Solta). A little later on were built on the Dalmatian mainland the towns of Tragurium (Traù) and Epetium (Stobrec, near Spalato).

The Illyrian kingdom was a thorn in the flesh of Roman Imperialism. It was destroyed, but only after a series of bloody battles, which bear a striking resemblance to the struggles sustained by the Gauls against the Romans, and in modern times to the struggle of the Serbians against the Ottoman Conquest and the later Imperialist campaign of Austria. The Illyrian nation and the Dalmatians, its most courageous tribe, strikingly resemble the Serbians and Croats in character; and if science has not formed a final verdict on the Slavonic origin of the Illyrian nation, the moral proof of this paternity may be found in a constant tradition and in the enthusiasm displayed by the Croats and Serbs for these early possessors of Dalmatian soil.

Queen Teuta, of whom the Croat poets of Illyrism sing, played the same part as Vercingetorix in Gaul. She and her successors resisted for many years the efforts of Rome. But in 168 B.C. her dynasty went down in blood, and Illyria south of the Narenta became a Roman province. Still this was only the beginning of the struggle. The great campaign against the Dalmatians, whose capital was at Delminium (Duvno in Herzegovina), and who opposed all the Roman Senate's schemes for the colonization of Dalmatia, lasted for over a century of terrible bloodshed (156-33 B.C.). It ended with the submission of the Dalmatians, who yielded hostages to Augustus and were forced to pay an annual tribute to Rome. The Liburnian fleet was destroyed at the same time. Even this peace proved to be a mere armistice;

for the Dalmatians rose and concluded an alliance with the peoples of Pannonia (6 B.C.). Augustus dispatched seven legions to Dalmatia under Tiberius, Germanicus, Marcus Lepidus and Silvanus Plautius. Finally the first of these generals quelled all resistance and in A.D. 12 Illyrian independence was at an end.

II. Roman Dalmatia.

Rome civilized and partially Romanized Dalmatia. At the same time she civilized the hinterland, which henceforth shared the destiny of the eastern Adriatic coast. The Imperial Power, uniform, anational and firmly organized on the model of the Eternal City, survived for five centuries in Dalmatia. Adapting herself to the geographical situation of her new province, Rome linked her on the one hand with Istria and the Save, and on the other hand with the Albanian river Drin and eastwards with the interior of Bosnia. This is indeed more or less what is demanded by the Serbs and Croats of the twentieth century. Add to it Serbia and Macedonia, and we have the Jugoslav State of the future. Such is the force of facts, before which even the mistress of the ancient world was ready to bow.

In the second century of our era Dalmatia enjoyed profound peace. Pax Romana! The Antonines erected magnificent buildings at Zara (Jadera) and at Burnum, a once flourishing town between Kistanje and Knin, which was destroyed by the Avars in 639. Dalmatia was divided into three *conventus*: Scardona on the river Krka, Salona between the Krka and the Narenta, and Narona to the south of Narenta. Later on, the Emperor Diocletian separated

the latter from Dalmatia, and formed it into a distinct province under the name of *Praevalitana* (what is now North Albania and South Dalmatia). Even before the Roman Conquest the coast towns possessed municipal statutes, and thus it is not to Rome that they owe them. But Rome developed still further the municipal system, and this enabled the towns to make their mark in Dalmatian history, and to check completely the efforts of Croat and Hungarian feudalism to secure all power in their own hands. This ancient municipal spirit played, for over a thousand years after the Roman Conquest, a decisive part in Serbo-Croat history; for it was always from Dalmatia that the fiercest protests against the oppression of feudalism and officialdom in Croatia and Bosnia proceeded.

The principal towns were Jadera, Salona, Aequum (near Sinj), Narona and Epidaurum, and these bore the title of "Colonies." Scardona was a *Municipium.* There were also the *Oppida* and the *Tribus.* Architectural development in Dalmatia was superior to that of the provinces north of the Alps. Christianity presided over an admirable blend of Greek art and the ideas of the new age. Dalmatia became the classic soil on which took place a new evolution of Roman architecture and the solemn transition from antique to early Christian art. The palace of Diocletian, and the temples of Jupiter and Æsculapius at Spalato, actually built within the precincts of Diocletian's palace after the destruction of Salona, are immortal examples of this historic epoch. Nor must it be supposed that the Roman occupation established itself in a mere desert. The Illyrian people continued to exist, and to play indirectly

an extremely important rôle in the Roman Empire. Numerous Illyrians took service under the Cæsars. Several Illyrian generals wore the imperial diadem—Claudius II, Aurelian, Probus, Carus, and greatest of all, Diocletian (284-313), whose character recalls the fundamental traits of the Slav race—violence alternating with generosity and that philosophic melancholy which led him back from the Imperial throne to the fields of his native province. This Emperor, whom the Illyrian nation gave to Rome as a mediator between the East and the West, was the first representative of the symbolic mission of Dalmatia to the Slavs in face of the Latin world.

Dalmatia, then, did not become Roman as a result of occupation by the Roman legions. The example of Roumania would suffice to bring out the radical difference between these two historical phenomena.

From this period onwards there has been in Dalmatia a blending of races, and Latin blood has mingled with Illyrian and with Greek. This mixture formed the woof of Dalmatian life until the arrival of new Slavonic tribes, which, attaching themselves to the Illyrian stock, definitely Slavized the country. In the coast towns the Roman element survived side by side with the Slav element among the patricians, some of whom were conscious of their Roman origin, as late as the fifteenth century. We may quote as example the Archdeacon Thomas of Spalato (*d.* 1268), Micha Madii de Barbazanis of Spalato (*d.* 1358) and Elias Lampridio Cerva of Ragusa (*d.* 1520). But this Roman element could not resist the influence of Slavdom in the neighbouring countries; above all, in the north of Dalmatia, where it, through intermarriage, completely transformed

Dalmatian society. From the eleventh century onwards the patrician families of Zara came to be allied by marriage with the Croat princes, the families of Ragusa and Cattaro with the princes of Serbia. The development of the Dalmatian cities in the Middle Ages, the civic rights granted to powerful Slav families, and on the other hand Asiatic epidemics, especially the plague of 1348, contributed powerfully to the almost total extinction of the old Roman families. The Patriciate of Ragusa in the seventeenth century, in contrast to the Humanists of the fifteenth century, was conscious of being Slav and openly proclaimed the fact, as may be seen from the famous chronicles of Mauro Orbini and Giacomo Luccari. Thus Roman rule in Dalmatia has only left the impression of a brilliant civilization and a few memories in one section of the Dalmatian aristocracy.

All along the coast, even after the Slavs took possession, a Roman idiom was spoken which never exercised any influence upon Dalmatian culture, and which for lack of spiritual nourishment died out in a world which understood it no longer.

Meanwhile the Roman spirit, the municipal idea and the leaning towards the West and Latin culture, made its way among the Slavs as an inspiration and a programme, although assailed on all sides by the new and vigorous Slav forces and by influences from the East. At bottom it was a leaven which imparted to the Slav nationality of the country a taste for what is good, a sense of Humanism and of the civic spirit. Venice was to do nothing more than this. If she had found a true Latin element in the country, she would have Italianized it, adding

a certain Venetian tinge. But she found a Slavonic people, impervious to Latinization, and hence she refrained from the attempt.

III. Slavonic Dalmatia.

The storms which beat upon the Balkan countries, including Dalmatia, are in themselves a sufficient explanation of the extinction of Roman influence. From the year 375 the Goths and Huns hurled themselves against the province and destroyed its magnificent and flourishing Roman art and the prosperity of its towns.

Theodosius the Great died at Milan in 395, after having partitioned all the Roman world between his two sons, Honorius in the west, Arcadius in the east. Western Illyria (Noricum, upper and lower Pannonia, upper Moesia and the Save basin, Liburnia and Dalmatia) fell to the share of the west, but the Byzantines definitely established their hold upon it in 537. Dalmatia was attached to the Exarchate of Ravenna, with a Catapan (Captain) at Salona. There came an orgy of arbitrary corruption, of careless neglect for a distant province which was regarded as barbarous. Fiscal exactions and forcible enrolments for distant wars in Persia and elsewhere prepared a favourable soil for the peaceful invasion of the Slavs in the sixth and seventh centuries. The Avars preceded them and completed the destruction which the Goths had begun. The decisive date in Dalmatian history on the eve of the Middle Ages is the final destruction of the splendid city of Salona (639). Epidaurum and Rizinium shared the same fate. It is to this disaster, which overtook the Imperial cities, that

the Dalmatian towns of Spalato and Ragusa owe their origin.

This was the culminating point of the Slav advance. Of late years an attempt has been made to propagate the erroneous theory of a sudden inroad of Slavonic hordes into Roman Dalmatia: but nothing could be more untrue. It is of course obvious that the Norman conquests of England and of Sicily, the arrival of the Franks and the Magyars, and other similar incidents in history have all borne a character of violence. But the establishment of the Slavs in Dalmatia was not achieved suddenly in the form of a military expedition. It was, on the contrary, a slow and progressive movement, during which the existing elements were gradually displaced and new Slav stocks grafted upon them. The Slav origin of the Illyrians, to which we have already referred, acquires more and more the character of historical certitude in the light of modern Slavistic studies. It is a remarkable fact that Tommasèo clearly divined this, and in one of his books [1] laid down two fundamental principles, racial attraction and the migratory instinct.

"If the new inhabitants of a district," he writes, "inherit the traditions and manners of the old, if they mingle with them their blood and if, while imprinting upon the climate their habits, they resemble them and, at least to some extent, continue their history, it cannot on the other hand be denied that the original inhabitants, who draw their inspiration from the same soil and the same sky, and who receive from these the impressions and sensations of external objects, are in some degree the precursors and almost as it were the prophets of the peoples who are destined to succeed them on the

[1] *La storia civile nella Letteratura*, p. 547.

same soil. The title of 'Slavs' which is given to the men who preceded the real Slav migrations in Europe, leads me to think that new migrations of peoples very often gravitate in the direction of kindred races, as the result alike of very ancient traditions and very new impulses."

The recent conclusions of Science seem to justify the intuitions of the great Dalmatian.

But whether or not the Slavs and Illyrians belong to the same stock, the incontestable fact in Dalmatian history is that Dalmatia has been Slav since the seventh century. The Croats and the Serbs—two tribes of the same nation, as the Bavarians and the Saxons are two Teutonic tribes—divided Dalmatia between them, the Croats in the north and the Serbs in the south. While acknowledging the suzerainty of the Byzantine Emperor, as did Venice herself up to the end of the eleventh century, these two peoples henceforth decided the destinies of Dalmatia, whose fate was thus definitely linked to the fate of Slavdom between the Save and the Adriatic. As long as the Croats and Serbs preserved, under whatever form, their national sovereignty, Dalmatia was national in her outlook. As the political experiments of the Slavs prove abortive, so Dalmatia tends to fall under foreign rule and, no longer the necessary complement to a national state, sinks to the level of a mere maritime colony and a corridor leading its conquerors onward.

The waves of Slav invasion followed each other with greater frequency after the fall of Rome and under the feeble Emperors of Byzantium. The transfer of hegemony from west to east worked out to the advantage of the Serbs and above all of the Croats. While the coast towns still obeyed Byzan-

tium, the mainland no longer recognized any one save the Croat Župans, and is from this period onward completely Slavized.

The ninth century is characterized by the efforts to unify the Croats and Serbs and even by a still more ambitious attempt to bring all the Jugoslav countries together. From 805 to 822 the Frankish Empire hampered every effort at organization on the part of the Croat people, which thus from its very outset was confronted by the hostility of west and east, of Frank and Byzantine. But a man arose in the midst of chaos, and between 819 and 822 Ljudevit Posavski roused the Slav peoples in revolt, defeated the Franks and imposed his authority upon the Croats of Pannonia, the Slovenes and the Danubian Serbs. Thus, for a moment all the Jugoslav countries between the Save and the Timok obeyed a single authority. But this effort was speedily shattered by the two Great Powers, which at Aachen in 822 divided between them the Serbo-Croat lands. Dalmatian Croatia between the rivers Cetina and Vrbas were assigned to the Emperor Louis the Pious, while Dalmatia proper, with all the coast towns, remained under Byzantine sovereignty.

In 839 Venice enters upon the scene. There are sanguinary struggles with the Narentans, who had founded a small but redoubtable Serb State at the mouth of the Narenta. These are the Slav Vikings. The Doge Pietro Tradonico opens the series of great Venetians whose task it is to execute the programme of the wonderful city of the lagoons. This new maritime Power, half Eastern, half Latin, sets itself to acquire the great commerce of the Levant, and during this period lays the foundations of its future

greatness, by setting a guard upon the only road by which it can reach its rivals or lay hands upon the East. This road is the Adriatic. This corridor of penetration, which is at the same time the strategic link, is Dalmatia. Venice is the mediator between east and west, awaiting the moment when she is to become the temple of beauty and wisdom. Attached by a mere thread to the Italian continent, she finds her whole life upon the sea. She is bound to prevent the growth of another state upon the opposite coast, for such a state would strangle her. Hence the gigantic efforts made by this Rome of the Seas to secure the uncontested mastery of the Adriatic. But on the opposite coast the Slavs are slowly crystallizing; and this process of state-formation must be arrested, since on it depended the life or death of the city of St. Mark. Already in the ninth century Europe is confronted with the Southern Slav question, which is still unsolved to-day.

In the north of Dalmatia there was a Prince of the Croats, in the south a Prince of the Narentans. At St. Martin, on the territory which was afterwards to form the county of Poljica, the Doge Tradonico concluded a treaty of peace with the Croat Prince Mislav and with the Narentan Prince Druzak, but the latter's subjects resumed the struggle in 840 and won the upper hand. Venice, in order to combat them, was obliged to conclude a treaty with King Lothair, son of the Emperor Louis the Pious (840).

Mislav's successor Trpimir (845-864) took the title of *Dux Chroatorum*. He had two residences, at Klis, near Spalato, and at Bihač, near Traù. Thanks to the struggle of Byzantium against the Arabs and Bulgarians, the Dalmatian towns were able to develop

their autonomy. They became the third factor in the Adriatic struggle, the stake between the Slavs and Venetians. Jealous of their municipal statutes, but too feeble to defend them by their own unaided strength, they invariably submitted to the suzerainty of whoever offered them the fullest guarantees of autonomy. This is the reason why they recognized Byzantine supremacy until the eleventh century and held aloof from the quarrel between the Venetians and the Slavs. Towards the end of the ninth century we have three Jugoslav states—a Dalmatian Croatia extending through Bosnian territory to the Bulgarian frontier[1]; continental Serbia, divided into several tiny principalities; and Croat Pannonia along the Save and the Drave. Between 864 and 876 Domagoj, Prince of the Croats, resided at Knin in Dalmatia, and in 865 was involved in a fresh war with the Doge Orso Particiaco. Domagoj's successor, Branimir (879–892) presided over the first struggle between the Latin and Greek influences in the Church. The Croat bishopric of Nona (Nin) became the citadel of Slavism. Though it had always depended upon the Patriarchate of Constantinople, Branimir detached it, and made submission to Pope John VIII on 21st May, 879. From this date the Croats have been attached to Rome, and the two Slav peoples have been the playthings of the historic rivalry of the two churches. At the Council of Constantinople (869–880) the Eastern Emperor and the Patriarch won the day, but renounced the Croat principality, which henceforth played the part of an independent state. Almost at the same time there broke out in

[1] The Bulgarians held at this moment a portion of Bosnia, and soon cast covetous eyes upon the Adriatic.

Dalmatia a liturgical conflict between Slav and Latin. The Popes had allowed Mass to be celebrated in the Slavonic tongue, the language of the Apostles Cyril and Methodius. During the tenth and eleventh centuries there was an incessant struggle between the Latin bishops of the coast towns and the bishops of the inland towns of Dalmatia. Commencing in 885, this struggle is still not finished to-day! Every available means was tried to deprive the Slav populations of the Slav liturgical language. The bishops of maritime Dalmatia accused them of "Arianism"—just as long afterwards the political Slav movement was to be denounced as "Russian" or "Austrian." The Dalmatians are tough material, and the conflict assumed the proportions of a struggle between two political conceptions. In reciting the main facts we may depart from our scheme of chronology—the more so as the political situation during the period in review always remains the same. Venice is only visible in the distance, taking no active part in the conflict; Dalmatia seems to be in a current that is purely Slav.

In 925 the first big provincial Council was held at Spalato. The Dalmatian bishops and abbots, Gregory, Bishop of Nona, the Croat king Tomislav, certain Serbian magnates driven out by a Bulgarian invasion, and the Serbian prince Michael of Zahumlje (the Herzegovina of to-day), all took part. It was thus already a Serbo-Croat demonstration in Dalmatia. At this famous Council the Archbishop of Spalato was proclaimed Metropolitan of the whole Adriatic littoral, from the river Arsa in Istria as far as Cattaro. This may fairly be regarded as a solemn affirmation of the Slavonic character of the eastern shore, and

as an ecclesiastical concentration tending to make good the lack of political unity. In vain the prelates of the Latin party cried out against heresy; the Council could not be induced to condemn the Slavonic liturgy.

In 928 a second council was held at Spalato; and the archbishopric, which was regarded as of apostolic origin, was once more proclaimed the Metropolitan See of all the Croat countries. The bishopric of Nona was suppressed.

The third Council of Spalato took place in 1060. The struggle between the Latin and Slavonic clergy assumed the proportions of a civil war. The Slavonic liturgy was abolished, as were also such Byzantine practices as the marriage of the priesthood and the wearing of beards. These decisions were ratified by Pope Alexander II, but they were only accepted by the higher clergy and the great nobles; the lesser nobility and the lower clergy remained loyal to the Slav liturgy, and struggles broke out in Dalmatia and Croatia. The Pope sent a Legate to Dalmatia. Three new bishoprics were created at Knin, Belgrade (Zara Vecchia) and Traù. The diocese of Knin included all the Croat districts as far as the Drave, while the diocese of Spalato extended up to Zagreb.

At a fourth Council held in 1076, when Venice had already possessed herself of some of the Dalmatian towns, the differences between Latins and Croats were smoothed over, and tolerance was granted to the Slav liturgy. For eight centuries the conflict slumbered. The people continued to pray in Slav in the dioceses of Veglia, Zara, Sebenico and above all Spalato, and identically the same problem pre-

sented itself in the nineteenth century, in the very same terms, aggravated by the hostile intervention of Austria. The Italianizers and the Austrians joined hands against the Slavonic character of the Dalmatian Church, while the Popes wavered in their decision, though without ever going so far as to suppress the Slav liturgy. Amid the countless war aims of the present struggle there stands side by side with the liberation of the Slavs the solution of a problem, which though purely ecclesiastical in origin, has become political and national.

The whole of the ninth century was filled with sanguinary struggles between the Narentans and the Venetians. In 877 the Venetian fleet was defeated near Makarska and the Doge Pietro Candiano perished in the fight. The Croats and Narentans imposed a tribute (*solidus census*) upon Venice and the Dalmatian towns, this latter tribute being decreed by the Emperor Basil for the benefit of the Croat princes to whom all Dalmatia up to the town gates belonged. The towns paid to the Croatian treasury an annual sum of 720 golden ducats, and this they continued to do until the year 1107. Nothing short of a formidable naval expedition under the Doge Pietro Orseolo II availed to free Venice from this tribute.

Meanwhile the Croatian State developed steadily, and indeed this first attempt at the political grouping of the Jugoslavs did not encounter any serious enemy. There was no obstacle on its path. Europe had not yet emancipated itself from the Carlovingian Empire. In the France which had been created by the Treaty of Verdun (843) there reigned Eudes, Count of Paris. In England, Alfred the Great

was laying the foundations of maritime power and political liberty. The Empire of the East maintained itself by a miraculous feat of balancing, and was preparing its moral and religious divorce from the West. The Papacy was feeble. The Magyars were as yet only visible on the horizon. Venice was hesitating between the monarchical tendencies of a few great families (the Particiaco, the Candiano and the Orseolo) and the popular tendency which favoured the proud commune's free commercial expansion. This, if ever, was the moment for the Slav peoples between the Danube and the Adriatic to organize themselves as a political unit, to throw off every foreign yoke, and to create finally in south-east Europe something with solid foundations and a vitality of its own, bound by close sympathies with Western civilization. As a matter of fact the efforts of the Croats follow an ascending scale, in close collaboration with Serbian efforts further south, and awaiting the moment when these two branches of the Southern Slavs should blend in a single State.

Mutimir's successor Tomislav intervened in the quarrels between the Serb princes. Peter Gojniković made himself master of the Narentan district, while the large islands of Lissa, Brazza and Lesina belonged to the Croat princes. Peter was soon conquered by his rival Michael Višović (910–913), who called in the Bulgars as his allies, seized Prince Peter and conquered the whole littoral from the river Cetina to the Drina, in other words to the water-shed between Bosnia and Serbia. Thereupon the Croat prince Tomislav in 914 assumed the title of King of the Croats. It was to him that the Eastern Emperor Romanus II, threatened by the Bulgarian

Tsar Simeon, ceded all the towns and islands of Dalmatia, while at the same time coming to terms with the Papacy. Thus the Dalmatian coast was separated from the Eastern Empire and became politically Slav (Croat). The southern part of the province, Ragusa and Cattaro, recognized the suzerainty of the Serbian prince Michael. But the Bulgarian Tsar turned back from Byzantium and in 924 declared war on the Serbian prince Zachary, who was tortured to death. The Serbian lands were incorporated with Bulgaria; and Croatia and Michael's principality became its neighbours. This is the moment of the first migration of the Serbs to Croatia. From the year 925 Tomislav was king, with the consent of Pope John X, and all Pannonian Croatia and almost all the Dalmatian coast with its islands belonged to him. It was a brilliant beginning, which coincided in time with the first blending of Serb and Croat. No purely political organization ever prevailed permanently against the persistence with which the race reaffirms its desire for national unity.

Under King Tomislav's successors, Krešimir I (930–945) and Michael Krešimir II (949–969), Bosnia began to develop a separatist policy, the Serbs shook off Bulgarian rule, while the towns and islands of Dalmatia belonged to the Narentans, who were defeated in 948 by the Venetians. But Zara, Salona, Spalato and Clissa recognized the authority of the Croatian king. Under Stephen Držislav (969–995) there was a fresh Bulgarian invasion, and Tsar Samuel overran Serbia, Bosnia, Syrmia and the Adriatic coast south of the Cetina. He occupied Zahumlje, Travunia, Dioclea (the present Herzegovina

and Montenegro) and the whole of the Narentan region. His armies invaded the territory of Zara, but did not dare to attack Croatia proper.

All these wars bear the character of mediaeval migratory invasion. The Balkan Peninsula, which had already become almost entirely Slavized, was seeking for an outlook and a direction. The waves break over it now from east to west, now from west to east. But for the intervention of hostile elements from without it is more than probable that a territorial and national solution would have been found; but foreign influence interfered with the attempts at unification at the very moment when it seemed about to succeed. It is for the twentieth century to liquidate this legacy of the Middle Ages. Among peoples of the same stock, extending from the shores of the Black Sea to the Adriatic and the Triglav, it is the most gifted and civilized that will, in the long run, gain the upper hand. The germ of this struggle is to be found towards the year 1000 in the first armed contact with the Bulgars, and in the efforts of the Croatian Kingdom, which after its own eclipse was to hand on its task to the old Serbian Empire.

The politic attitude adopted by the Eastern Empire towards the young Croat Power is an unanswerable proof of the important place won by the latter in the Balkans. In point of fact, the Basileus sent, in 986, the royal insignia to King Držislav, who then proclaimed himself *Rex Croatiæ et Dalmatiæ*. It is significant that the title of King of Dalmatia is of Byzantine origin. The spirit of legalism which dominated all mediaeval transactions may be seen in the fact that a patrician family of Zara, perhaps

the Columna, after acting for several generations as Byzantine deputies in the town, allied itself to the Croat royal family; and it was this which led the latter to regard itself as entitled to assume the royal Dalmatian title. The possession was national, but the *nudum jus* expressed in the title was Byzantine.

Meanwhile Venice grew, and her need for expansion became irresistible. Under the Orseolo she became more conscious of her power. The successor of King Držislav was a weakling, and Venice profited by the fact to conclude with Byzantium an agreement by which the Emperor ceded to her the sovereignty of the Dalmatian towns and islands. A certain respect for legality presided over the conquest, and Byzantium ceded its barren rights over a distant coast to those who offered it the greatest material advantages or whose hostility it feared for the moment.

That the panic commonly believed to have prevailed in the year 1000—owing to the predicted end of the world—never really existed, is proved by the Venetian expedition to Dalmatia. It was on May 9th, 1000, that the Doge Pietro Orseolo II, after refusing to pay the annual tribute to the Croat king Svetoslav, started upon his triumphal Dalmatian campaign. It marked the entry of the Republic of St. Mark upon the scene, as conqueror of the whole Adriatic shore. The Croatian fleet was defeated near Zara. The islands of the Quarnero, the towns of Zara, Traù and Spalato and even Ragusa, which already were assuming airs of independence, at once submitted to the great Doge. Belgrade (Zara Vecchia) and the islands of Curzola and Lagosta were conquered by force of arms. It is a remark-

able fact that this is the first and only Venetian expedition to Dalmatia which did not meet with opposition on the part of the Dalmatian Communes. Was it because the Roman element was still sufficiently important in the towns, and because the privileges of an oligarchy were seriously menaced by the incoming Slavs, who in demanding rights of citizenship were backed up by the Croatian Crown? We do not know. But in any case the Venetian occupation encountered no serious defence. The interview which the Doge had at Traù with Svetoslav's successor, Krešimir III (*d.* 1030), perhaps contributed to this result. It was a memorable event in Dalmatian history, which hastened the fusion between the Slav and Roman elements, between the nobles and the citizens.[1]

The King renounced the tribute from Venice and allowed the Doge to assume the title of *Dux Dalmatiæ*. This agreement was followed by the marriage of Orseolo's daughter with King Krešimir's son Stephen (1008), which was followed three years later by the marriage of the Doge's son Otho with the daughter of St. Stephen, the King of Hungary. It was thus that the two royal Houses of Croatia and Hungary, the Krešimirović and the Árpáds, formed an alliance under the auspices of Venice. This decisive event influenced the whole history of Croatia and Dalmatia. Hungary was to acquire Croatia in virtue of a marriage contract, while

[1] As early as the thirteenth century Slav families sat in the Council of Traù, e.g. the very ancient family of Slavić, which when Venetian rule was at its height assumed the name of Rossignoli. "Slavić" in Serbo-Croat means "nightingale" (*rossignolo* in Italian).

Venice was also to profit by it to assert her claims upon Dalmatia. This policy does not differ in any way from the methods adopted throughout the Middle Ages, and even in quite modern times, in selling nations and provinces as the dowry or appanage of some royal family. Even in our own day the last traces of this policy still obstruct the free development of the peoples.

The Venetian marriage naturally did not prevent King Krešimir from seizing Dalmatia in 1018 on behalf of his son. Otho Orseolo in his turn recovered it on behalf of his sister. But the Venetians rose against their Doge, and the Croat kinsmen of the Orseolo supported the party which sought to put an end to the dynasty of Venice. They declared war upon the Orseolo, and King Krešimir acquired Dalmatia a second time, but was driven out by Byzantine intervention. The Orseolo were driven from power and the King of Croatia, Stephen I, (1030–1058), reoccupied the coast towns with the approval of the Emperor Romanus III. Zara alone remained under the protectorate of the Doge (1050). Stephen's successor, Peter Krešimir IV. (1058–1073), took possession of the whole Dalmatian littoral and the district up to the Narenta. Croatian power was at its height, and became more and more a menace to Venice. In the royal charters the Adriatic Sea is described as *nostrum Dalmaticum mare.* The expedition of the great Orseolo was forgotten. But Fate struck the young Slavonic Kingdom a fatal blow: Krešimir IV left no children. A Dalmatian magnate, Slavić, seized for a moment the vacant Dalmatian throne (1073–1075), but the Papacy, which in the person of Gregory

VII showed its interest in new dynasties and was already inaugurating the policy of Innocent and Boniface, deposed Slavić and pronounced in favour of another noble, Dmitor Zvonimir. Venice profited by these dissensions to seize the towns of Dalmatia, but the new reign began in an imposing fashion. The people proceeded to the election of Zvonimir, who was solemnly crowned King of Croatia and Dalmatia in the Basilica of St. Peter at Salona. near Spalato, in the presence of the Papal Legate.[1]

Zvonimir took an oath of fidelity to Gregory VII, who sent him the Royal Standard. Thus Croatia, as later on Sicily, Scotland and Denmark, entered the sphere of Latin rule and obedience of the Holy See. The Dalmatian towns did him homage, and the last echo of the struggle between the Slav and Latin liturgies, between the national Slavo-Byzantine spirit and the influence of the Latin and Germanic worlds, died away. Zvonimir's wife, Helena, was sister to King Ladislas I of Hungary. Everything conspired to separate the Croats from their Slav brothers further east. It was a divorce destined in the future to give rise to political dissension between two branches of a single race, and Dalmatia was to suffer from it more acutely than any other Jugoslav province.

The new King's first act was to ally himself with the Normans of Robert Guiscard against the combined forces of Venice and Byzantium. Already in 1076 Venice threatened the Dalmatian towns with

[1] In the town of Spalato alone there are three foundations of the Croat kings—the Convent of St. Stephen de Pinis (to-day Sustjepan) in 1020, the Convent of St. Mary in Paludo in 1030, and the Church of St. Felix in Riva. All three still survive.

reprisals, in the event of their permitting the Normans to establish themselves in the country. But the Doge Domenico Selvo, brother-in-law of the Emperor Michael VII, did not act in his own name, but fought to safeguard the rights of Byzantium. All the struggles of this period were, in their legal aspect, struggles for or against Byzantine sovereignty. In the waters of Corfù the Croato-Norman fleet inflicted in 1084 a bloody defeat upon the Venetians and Byzantines. But it was a victory which led to nothing, for Alexis Comnenus, to compensate his ally the Doge for the losses which he had sustained in this war, ceded to him in the following year all the rights of the Byzantine crown over Croatia and the Dalmatian towns. The Doge Vitale Falier assumed the title of *Dux Chroatiæ et Dalmatiæ*. Confronted with so serious a reverse, Zvonimir had only one thought: to assume the Cross and furnish the Holy See with a direct proof of his devotion. It was not until 1095 that the First Crusade was proclaimed at Clermont: and yet as early as 1089 it was being discussed at the court of the King of Croatia, who convoked a great popular assembly at Knin in order to propose an expedition to the Holy Land. The magnates refused their support; Zvonimir was assassinated, and buried in the vaults of the Cathedral Church of Knin.

By the death of this forerunner of the Age of Chivalry, Croatia found herself without a national dynasty, and at the mercy of events. One party offered the throne to Ladislas of Hungary, as the brother of Zvonimir's widow, Helena, little thinking that it was about to involve Croatia and the Slav world in the most unequal and fatal of alliances.

Ladislas at once occupied part of Croatia. But the Croat nationalists opposed to him a Croat prince from Dalmatia, named Peter, possibly a relation of King Slavić; while the coast towns returned to the allegiance of Constantinople.

When Ladislas died in 1095, his son and successor Koloman declared war upon Peter II, whose capital was still at Knin. In his alarm lest the King of Hungary should seize the Dalmatian towns, the Doge Vitale Michiel sent to them as envoys Badoer da Spinale and Falier Stornato, who concluded agreements recognizing the protection of the Doge in his quality of imperial *prototsebast.*

Thus the sole right of Venice to Dalmatia was that conferred upon her by the Emperor of the East; legally Dalmatia belonged to the Basileus, just as Tuscany and the Duchy of Milan belonged to the Emperor of the Romans. The Croat kingship, of which Dalmatia is the cradle and the temple of its greatest memories, also drew its authority from the consent of the Byzantine Emperor, but its investiture was justified by the Slavonic character of the country. The failure of the first serious political effort of the Jugoslav race was an immense misfortune for the consolidation and peaceful development of Central and Eastern Europe. A strong Croatian Kingdom, allied and even blended with the contemporary Serbian principalities, would have formed an impassable barrier against Hungarian and Venetian conquests, which deflected the Slav countries from their true destinies and prepared the way for the monstrous rule of Turkey and Austria.

Thus Hungary succeeded to Croatia. Her king invaded Dalmatia and took Belgrade (near Zara).

In order to avoid a war with the newcomer, the Doge signed a treaty with Koloman in 1098 by which the two States mutually guaranteed their Dalmatian possessions. This guarantee could not be cited by Venice as consecrating her legal title, for it was the King of Hungary alone who had a title to Dalmatia as heir to the Croatian crown. He challenged the Doge's title of *Dux Chroatiæ et Dalmatiæ* and invited him to produce his parchments and to consent to an inquiry into the origin of Venetian claims in Dalmatia, "because," he wrote, "to me and to my lords and elder statesmen it seems doubtful whether I ought to call you Duke of Croatia and Dalmatia." [1]

In 1097 Koloman seized Croatia by force of arms, but two years later he was defeated outside the walls of Przemysl by the Russians and Kumans. The Croats rose in revolt, and the king was obliged in 1102 to sign a friendly agreement with the magnates of his new kingdom. All opposition in Croatia was thus at an end. Koloman entered Belgrade-on-Sea, where he was solemnly crowned King of Croatia and Dalmatia. This event ushers in a new period in the history of Dalmatia and of the Jugoslavs in general.

IV. From the Coronation of Koloman to the Sale of Dalmatia to Venice.

The nature of the agreement between the King of Hungary and the Croats has been the subject of interminable discussions. Hungary, which in its origin was a Federal State, but after suffer-

[1] *Quia mihi principibusque meis et senibus dubium videtur, utrum te ducem Chroatiæ atque Dalmatiæ nominaverim.*

ing a long eclipse under the Habsburgs and the Turks, was welded in the nineteenth century into a national Magyar State, claims that Dalmatia and Croatia belong to her by right as appanages or subject lands (*partes subjectæ*), which lost their independence in the eleventh century. This contention cannot bear serious discussion. If in 1102 Pannonian and Croatian Dalmatia did actually cease to be ruled independently under a national dynasty of its own, it was none the less never absorbed by Hungary. The agreement with the Hungarian Crown was a federal pact, and the king was the only common link. The Croats safeguarded their historical individuality, but unhappily were subjected to all the political fluctuations of another State, which, though governed by laws more or less common to Latin feudalism, was none the less a political organism utterly alien in its customs and military organization to the agrarian and patriarchal constitution of a Slavonic State. The Hungarian magnates of the Middle Ages differ from the Croat magnates, just as do Russian nobles from German nobles. If Croatia, as the result of so long and intimate a relation with a neighbouring country, gradually lost its Slav elasticity and its political *raison d'être*, it by no means follows that it ceased to be a semi-sovereign country, always eager to acquire a full political and national personality of its own. In fact it has always seized every historical occasion that presented itself, to affirm the federal nature of the tie which bound it to the Hungarian Crown.

Of the countless declarations of the Croatian National Assembly in this sense we will only quote here a single one, which for clarity of expression

and energy of form leaves nothing to be desired. It was in 1712, under the Emperor Charles VI (III of Hungary and Croatia) that the Croatian Estates, being invited to recognize the Pragmatic Sanction, insisted on defining the nature of the tie which united them to the Crown. "We are free," they wrote to their sovereign, "and not slaves. While forming part of Hungary, we are not its subjects. We have had our national kings, who were not Hungarians. No force and no servitude has subjected us to the Hungarians, but it was by our own free will that we submitted, *not to the kingdom but to the King.*" [1]

It was Croatia, too, who, disguised under the mantle of the Hungarian kings, was to engage in a struggle with Venice for the possession of Dalmatia. She adhered to this programme until our own times, with Hungary when possible, without Hungary when necessary. Mediaeval Hungary was an anational State, alike in its foreign policy and in its constitution. And it was because (thanks to the superior political sense with which the Turanian

[1] The latin text of this memorable declaration runs as follows: "Liberi sumus, *non* mancipia. . . . Partes quidem sumus, uti leges loquuntur, annexæ Hungariæ, non autem subdite: et nativos olim habebamus, non Hungaros reges; nullaque vis, nulla captivitas nos Hungaris addixit, sed spontanea nostra ultroneaque voluntate non quidem regno, verum eorundem regi nosmet subiecimus. . . ."

We may add here that the Croats were the last nation in Europe to abandon the use of Latin, not only in official documents, but also in private life. It was on the day that the Magyars denounced this tacit agreement to employ a classic international language —an agreement which toned down all conflicts and was the living symbol of legal parity—that the struggle between the Magyars and the Croats began. We remember having heard in our childhood at Zagreb a Croatian advocate pleading in Latin. As for the Latin eloquence of Bishop Strossmayer, the whole world has recognized it.

races seem to be endowed) she represented the principles of Christianity, Latinism and decentralization, that she was eventually able to extend her influence and territorial possessions under the House of Anjou. From the moment that the feudal and anational spirit was relaxed, and Hungary, carried away by a Magyar revival, threw her whole history to the winds and set up the Magyar racial claim in opposition to that of the Slavs—of whom Croatia was the chief—from that day the divorce was an accomplished fact, though the actual date of the forcible separation was still adjourned to a propitious occasion.

Hence it was not as King of Hungary but as King of Croatia and Dalmatia, as the successor of the Croat royal family, as the nephew of the last king's wife, that Koloman (1102–1116) made his entry into Dalmatia. This king had everything in his favour. The Emperor Alexis Comnenus, whose son and heir John was married to Koloman's sister, ceded to the latter all rights over the Dalmatian towns and islands. In 1107 the Doge himself, Ordelafo Falier, renounced his title of Duke of Croatia and Dalmatia, and the Venetian fleet received orders not to oppose the King of Hungary's occupation of Dalmatia. Falier was the ally of Alexis, and effaced himself because he needed the latter's help against the Norman danger. The Dalmatian episcopate, as in 1797, persuaded the Communes to accept Hungaro-Croatian sovereignty. But occupation is not conquest. The towns, headed by Zara, recognized this sovereignty on certain definite conditions, such as run counter to all traditional ideas regarding the kingly power and the rights of a suzerain. There are regular

treaties of protection between the independent Communes and the sovereign whom they chose freely as the guardian of their liberties. There are charters such as are more in keeping with the ideas of our own time than those extreme projects of centralization which strike at the root of all real liberty.

At Zara King Koloman took a solemn oath to respect and pay strict regard to the autonomy of the Dalmatian towns, which ever since the province had existed, had been respected by the Emperors of the East. By a happy chance a single charter has survived the policy of systematic destruction applied to all such documents by the Venetians in the eighteenth century. The historian of Traù, John Lucić (Lucio) avenged his country by publishing in his book *De Regno Chroatiæ et Dalmatiæ* (Amsterdam, 1666) the charter granted to his native city by Koloman. This Charter of Traù, dating from 1107, is the model of others granted to the towns of Zara, Sebenico and Spalato, and the islands of Dalmatia and the Quarnero. Its principal clauses are as follows :—

1. The town of Traù is exempted from every kind of tribute including the *tributum pacis*, which it used to pay to Byzantium, and afterwards to the King of Croatia.
2. It is granted complete liberty to elect its bishop and its count, and the King is obliged to conform to the choice made by the Communes, a right which, the Charter declares, the Dalmatians enjoyed "*sub-inperatore Constantinopolitano.*"
3. Complete legislative and judicial autonomy. The town is to be governed by the laws voted by its own Commune, and is to have no other judge save one elected by itself.

4. The customs and revenues of the port are to be divided between the King, the Count, and the Bishop.
5. No stranger of whatever country, whether Hungarian or other, can be admitted to the town without an authority from the Commune.
6. If the King in person expresses the desire to be crowned at Traù or to convoke the Diet of the kingdom there, the Commune is not obliged to receive the sovereign's suite within the walls of the town.
7. The citizens of Traù can emigrate at will and travel freely.

In short it is the widest communal authority known in Europe. The Italian Communes only wrested a part of such privileges from the German Cæsars after sanguinary struggles. The French Communes never knew such liberties at all. To find any analogy we must revert to the semi-independence enjoyed by the City of London under Henry I.

This picture, slight as it is, would be incomplete if we did not add two details which throw a characteristic light upon the liberties of the Dalmatian Communes. These are the exemption from all military service under the king, and the exemption from the obligation of supplying hostages to the king. Later on Venice put forward both demands, and indeed that was all she claimed from Dalmatia, which was above all to furnish her with men, for her land and sea forces. Thus the privileges of the Dalmatian Communes are inseparable from the nominal rule of Byzantium, and the more effective rule of Croatia, Venice merely confirmed them while restricting their scope. The Doges in their grants of new charters to the Dalmatian Communes referred to the latter's ancient liberties. "*Juramus vobis*" thus wrote the Doge Ordelafo Falier in 1117 to the towns of

Zara, Arbe and Traù, "*juramus vobis vestram consuetudinem et statum vestrum et libertatem terræ vestræ potestatem que, quam antiquitus dicitis habuisse sub Imperatore Constantinopolitano et sub rege Ungarorum. . . . Insuper taliter vos regere et manutenere sicut vobis Dalmatinis, Colomanus rex Hungariæ iuravit suis cum archiepiscopis, episcopis et comitibus.*

But Venice only kept the oath so long as she herself was threatened by Hungary's competition. From the fifteenth century onwards, while leaving in operation the municipal constitution, with a strong dose of favouritism towards the oligarchic element, she resorted to numerous levies and organized a crushing monopoly, involving countless restrictions upon Dalmatian trade. At the same time she excluded everything that could raise the intellectual level of the people. She destroyed all traces of their past greatness. She falsified the whole history of the Dalmatian conquest. She destroyed every document which could have thrown doubt upon her rights over Dalmatia, as against the Hungaro-Croatian Crown. Above all she set herself to discover and destroy at Zara all charters of the twelfth century, down to the most insignificant copies. She forgot, however, to destroy the Convent of St. Mary the Less at Zara, founded in 1066 by Cicca, the sister of King Krešimir, and the tomb of Cicca's daughter Vekenega (1111), which is the most historic monument in the Dalmatian capital. She also neglected to burn the book of Lucio, which saves from oblivion all the Croat documents referring to the foundation of the monastery and to the famous Campanile of St. Mary erected by the

people of Zara in memory of Koloman's solemn entry.

The Ragusan historian Resti (Cronache di Ragusa) in the eighteenth century drew up a violent indictment of the policy of the Serenissima. Annoyed by the disastrous impression created by Lucio's book in Dalmatia and at the trenchant proofs advanced by the great patrician in favour of the inalienable rights of the Hungaro-Croatian Crown to Dalmatia, Venice—Resti tells us—on the pretext of destroying certain monuments erected contrary to Venetian law to the memory of certain patricians of Venice, sent to Dalmatia three Syndics, who plundered all the various town archives and destroyed all the charters. But for the work of Lucio, who wrote in secret, and but for his discovery of the charter granted by Koloman to Traù, the world would have believed the deliberate lies of Venice, renewed in our own day by the unscrupulous representatives of a predatory policy, and would have accepted the view that Rome and Venice were the uncontested rulers of Dalmatia for 2000 years. We shall have a great deal more to say with regard to this legend.

The Venetians were in uncontested possession of part of Dalmatia—the 120 miles representing the territories of Ragusa and of Poljica never fell under their sway—for 376 years, from 1420 to 1796; whereas during the three centuries following upon the fall of Croatian independence (1115–1420) Croatia, in Hungarian disguise, fiercely disputed Dalmatia with Venice. During this period of three hundred and five years she waged twenty-one wars with Venice to recover her heritage, the cradle of the

Croat Monarchy. To affirm that the Kings of Hungary-Croatia were fully conscious of the stake, would be to read modern ideas into the mentality of the Middle Ages. But one fact is beyond all dispute, namely, that the Hungarian monarchy, relying upon the Croatian right of succession, aimed at completing its territory and rounding off a maritime State, enjoying all the conditions of a political life of its own; while Venice's one thought in the struggle was to assure herself by sea and land against the risks of a foreign commercial policy. It is in this sense that a resemblance may be traced between the mediaeval duel and the problem which concerns us to-day—between unification, political and national, and conquest, commercial and strategic.

In the eyes of Venice, Dalmatia was an insignificant strip of territory, a foreign people for whom she cared nothing. What in her eyes justified so stern a struggle, was the possession of certain outposts whence she could dominate the sea routes and drive out her rivals and competitors. Consequently one of her foremost political aims was the enfeeblement, or even the destruction, of the federal kingdom which had resulted from the Hungaro-Croatian agreement. For Hungary, on the contrary, the conquest of Dalmatia was an end in itself; the resumption of a process of state-formation in which the actors had changed, but which still preserved the old historical and national background. The salient points of this dramatic struggle may be summarized in their chronological order.

First War, 1115.—The Doge Ordelafo Falier seized Zara, Spalato and Traù.

Second War, 1116.—The Venetians captured the Castle of Zara, and the army of the Ban of Croatia was defeated outside the walls. The Venetians demolished the fortifications of Sebenico.

Third War, 1117.—The Doge Falier was defeated in his turn, and his successor Domenico Michiel concluded an armistice for five years.

Fourth War, 1124.—King Stephen of Hungary and Croatia drove out the Venetians and conquered Belgrade, Sebenico, Traù and Spalato, but failed before Zara.

Fifth War, 1125.—Doge Domenico Michiel recovered from Hungary Spalato, Sebenico and Traù, and razed to the ground the strong place of Belgrade, near Zara, the famous town where King Koloman had been crowned.

Sixth War, 1133.—King Béla I conquered all Dalmatia except Zara and a few islands. He also occupied Bosnia and assumed the title of *Rex Ramæ* (the ancient name of Bosnia).

Seventh War, 1163.—This time it was no longer Venice, but the Byzantine emperor Manuel Comnenus, who seized Dalmatia, really on behalf of Venice, and drove out King Stephen IV.

Eighth War, 1165.—Hungary and Byzantium contended for Dalmatia.

Ninth War, 1166.—King Stephen III, who had recovered the throne, seized all Dalmatia, and granted to the town of Sebenico the same privileges which the other towns had secured from his predecessors.

Tenth War, 1167.—Byzantium for the last time challenged Venice's possession of Dalmatia, and secured the whole province save Zara and the islands.

After the death of Manuel in 1180 they once more lost these gains.

Eleventh War, 1180.—King Béla II conquered all Dalmatia, including Zara. This king of the House of Árpád was a remarkable man, in whom there was no trace of his predecessors, St. Stephen Ladislas and Koloman. The Magyar idea suddenly revealed itself in him like a hidden malady. He is the destined forerunner of the Tiszas and the Apponyis of to-day. He made war upon the Serbs and Bulgars and exploited the religious struggles, in order to win for himself a great position in the Balkans. He was crafty and evil in character.

Twelfth War.—For ten years (1181–1191), the Venetians laid siege to Zara in vain. This town, which was greatly coveted as a military and political outpost in the upper Adriatic, was more Croatian than any other town in Dalmatia, and was to preserve that character even at a far later date, during the period of national struggle in Dalmatia. It was only in quite modern times that the Italian bureaucratic idea took root there, and it could never entirely efface the old traditions. Failing to recover the town, the Doge Dandolo concluded an armistice with King Béla, which was not infringed for eleven years.

Thirteenth War, 1202.—Venice, inconsolable at the loss of Zara, profited by the Fourth Crusade and the embarrassment of the French Crusaders, who lacked sufficient means to reimburse the Republic of St. Mark for the expenses of transport to the Holy Land. Enrico Dandolo set sail for Palestine, but in reality for the conquest of Dalmatia. The Crusaders, after a long siege, took the city by assault; most of its inhabitants were massacred,

and its ramparts dismantled. The capture of Zara immensely scandalized the Christian world, and for the crime of diverting the Crusade from its true object and launching the Crusaders not against the infidel but against a Christian and Apostolic King instead, Pope Innocent III placed Venice under the interdict. The feudal Croat lords, whose land reached the gates of the town, rebuilt the ruined walls and the quarters which had been set on fire. Domaldo Svačić, the head of a great Croat family, entered Zara, but found himself obliged to capitulate and recognize the sovereignty of Venice.

In 1216 Andrew I, finding himself short of money, renounced his rights to Zara in favour of Venice, who henceforth profited by her brilliant financial position to corrupt the sovereigns of Hungary. Meanwhile the great Croat feudal lords, and not the Venetians, were the real masters in Dalmatia. The Golden Bull which they wrung from Andrew I in 1222 considerably augmented their power, and they proceeded to partition Dalmatian territory as though Venice did not exist. In fact she was merely the temporary mistress of the towns; the territory outside their walls lay virtually outside her control. The Subić princes of Bribir and the Svačić princes reigned over the district of the Cetina, the Kačić over Almissa and the whole territory of Spalato as far as the Narenta; while the Bans of Croatia continued to bear the title of "Banus de maritimis partibus," and to ignore the very existence of Venice.

These efforts are yet another proof that Croat kingship, though crumbling into a group of feudal lordships, was not dead. But the House of Árpád always remained the stronger, and the Croats,

separated from the Serbs, lacked alike the organization and the political personnel necessary for reconstructing the kingdom. King Béla III profited by this feudal dismemberment to deal a formidable blow at Croatian semi-independence. The coronation ceremony on Dalmatian soil was abolished, and henceforth a single ceremony was to suffice for the two countries. It was the first of the interminable violations of the Constitution, which marked the unequal alliance between Turanian Hungary and Slavonic Croatia.

At this stage Europe was invaded by the Mongols and Tartars (1241–1242). Christian civilization was gravely menaced, Hungary and Croatia were invaded, and King Béla took refuge in Dalmatia. Three times did he change his residence, moving to Klis and subsequently to Spalato and Traù. The latter town was not defended by the Venetians, but by Count Stephen of Bribir, son of Prince Gregory and rival of Prince Domaldo, lord of Spalato. But this only shows how nominal was Venice's rule. The Dalmatian lands were in the hands of the Croat aristocracy, just as in the ninth century.

Fourteenth War, 1243.—The Croats did not admit that the King of Hungary could renounce his rights to Zara, and the Croat commanders attacked the Venetians, but were repulsed. The citizens of Zara refused to obey Venice and took refuge in a body at Nona (Nin), one of the ancient cities of the Croat kings. But in 1244 Béla, finding himself in his turn short of money, abandoned the people of Zara, who eventually, in 1247, much against their will, returned home and accepted the sovereignty of Venice. The Republic imposed very severe

conditions. There was to be a Venetian Count at Zara, and the citizens were to renounce marriages with Croatian wives, to surrender to Venice the revenues of their Commune and to hold their galleys and men at the disposal of the Republic. Traù and Spalato remained subject to the King of Hungary and Croatia, though virtually independent in all but name. Traù was ultra-loyalist, whereas Spalato was unruly and impatient. The latter town concluded a treaty of alliance with the Kačić princes, the independent Commune of Poljica, the Serbian Count Andrew of Zahumlje and the Ban of Bosnia, Matthew Ninoslav. The army, under the command of Dionisius, Ban of Croatia, crushed the Spalatans and their allies, and forced the town to accept a *homo regius* as Count, to give hostages to the King and to take an oath of fidelity to him. Venice did not intervene, but remained content with the possession of Zara. Thus Dalmatia continued in political dependence upon the federal Hungaro-Croatian Kingdom. A member of the royal house exercised the functions of a viceroy, with the title " Dux totius Sclavoniæ Chroatiæ et Dalmatiæ," while his substitute was known as " Banus Maritimus," in other words, Ban of Dalmatia.

The fourteenth century opened with a great event. In 1301 the death of Andrew III brought the Hungarian House of Árpád to an end, and civil war broke out in Hungary and Croatia between the competitors to the throne. Queen Mary of Naples, sister of Ladislas IV, claimed the Hungarian throne for her son Charles Martel, and at his death for her grandson Charles Robert. It is round this Angevin prince, of French royal stock, the protégé of Pope

Boniface VIII, that the whole history of Hungary and Croatia turns during the opening years of the fourteenth century. But it was not until 1309 that Charles Robert, having overcome his German and Czech rivals, was unanimously crowned as king. During the interregnum a great Croat family, the Subić, princes of Bribir—stuff of whom kings are made—seized possession of the whole of Dalmatia and became involved in war with Venice.

Fifteenth War, 1280.—The Venetians laid siege to Almissa, the capital of the princes of Bribir, who resisted successfuly and in their turn declared war upon Venice.

Sixteenth War, 1311.—For three years the Ban Paul Subić of Bribir was at war with Venice, and died after having enjoyed the triumph of capturing Zara. His son, Mladen, attained very nearly to regal power, and held a great court in Dalmatia. Charles Robert regarded his great vassal as so dangerous that he declared war upon him, defeated him in the Valley of the Cetina in 1332, deprived him of his hereditary office as Ban, and banished him to Hungary, where he received the fief of Zrin. He died in 1343. The Subić were the last and only great feudal house which could have asserted Croat independence. But Hungary, and even Serbia, was too strong for them, and Bosnia began to appear upon the horizon. Henceforth the Subić, lords of Zrin (Zrinjski), were to become merely great landed proprietors and famous generals and governors in the service of the Crown. Mladen had already lost Zara, which in 1313 signed a treaty with Venice on less harsh terms than those of 1247. Meanwhile Venice had profited by the civil war in Hungary

and the quarrels among the great feudal Croat lords, in order to seize Sebenico and Traù in 1322, and Spalato and Nona in 1327–1329. Thus Venice was once more established in Dalmatia, holding the whole coast between the rivers Zrmanja and Cetina, with the exception of Scardona and Almissa. Meanwhile the Ban of Bosnia, Stephen Kotromanić, annexed the whole coast between the Cetina and the Narenta, with the towns of Imotski, Dumno, Livno and Glamoč.

It was in the fourteenth century that the fortunes of Dalmatia were decided. She was, in fact, surrounded on every side by fresh attempts at political organization on the part of peoples of the same blood and language as herself. Right round the province, from the north-east to the south-east, there was formed a chain of Jugoslav States, marking out the path of her natural evolution. To the north was the Hungaro-Croatian Kingdom; to the east the Banat, afterwards the Kingdom, of Bosnia; to the south-east the Kingdom, afterwards the Empire, of Serbia, and quite to the south a free fragment of Dalmatia herself, the State of Ragusa. It was Dalmatia's second great opportunity of assuming the f nction to which her geographical position and the Slavonic character of her inhabitants seemed to invite her; and by virtue of the political and geographical law which we have already laid down, and according to which an independent hinterland inevitably draws to itself the coast which forms its complement, we shall see independent Bosnia seeking almost at once an outlet to the sea and union with her brethren of the same race

But Bosnia's political career as a real independent

Power only followed upon the decadence of Serbia. Meanwhile it was the latter Power which under the vigorous impulse of the royal house of Nemanja tended to supersede Croatia in her mission of unification. Thanks to the fact that Serbia occupied a more Balkan and more central position than that of the ancient Croat Kingdom; thanks to an atmosphere more favourable for the formation of great States than that provided by the era of extreme feudalism in Europe; thanks, also, to the creative genius of its sovereigns, the Serbian element concentrated in a State of greater power and vitality than its Croatian neighbour, which was languishing under the organized pressure of the Magyars.

The identity of the Serbo-Croat nation, which stands out in every line of its history, is revealed also in the glorious name of Nemanja, the founder of the Imperial dynasty. So far from being purely Serbian, it is not a Serbian name at all: between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries it was very common on the Adriatic littoral, and was borne by noble Croat families in the mountain district of Velebit, which separates Dalmatia in the north from what is now Croatia in the narrow sense of the term. The Serbs produced a series of great sovereigns, and the Serbian State was from 1196 to 1371 a great Balkan Power. The founder of the dynasty, the great Župan Stephen Nemanja, who abdicated in 1196, occupied Cattaro and as early as 1171 threatened the authority of Byzantium in Dalmatia and Croatia. His successor, Stephen I (1196–1228), whose wife was a niece of Enrico Dandolo, was crowned king by Pope Honorius III in 1217, and three years later assumed the title of

"Totius Serviæ Diocliæ Tribuniæ Dalmatiæ atque Chlumiæ Rex coronatus." This provoked a protest from Andrew II of Hungary, who claimed the right of calling himself Rex Serbiæ et Dalmatiæ. Stephen Uroš II (1282–1321) came into conflict with the dynastic ambitions of Mladen Subić of Bribir, the great Croat lord, whose title ran, "Croatorum et totius Bosniæ Banus." The struggle between this Croat prince and the King of Serbia was, in point of fact, mainly due to the desire of both to extend their territorial power over those of their own race. Mladen, too, sought to acquire Herzegovina, and added to his title that of "Dominus Chelmi," while the Serbian king called himself "Rex Croatiæ." Charles Robert of Hungary in his turn entered the lists against Uroš II, but was defeated: and the Serbian king, to commemorate his programme of political unification, presented to the famous Basilica of St. Nicholas at Bari a silver altar, bearing an inscription in which he is designated as "Lord of the lands stretching from the Adriatic Gulf to the great river Danube."

The rising power of the Nemanja dynasty seemed for an instant on the point of solving the Balkan problem. In a supreme struggle with the Bulgars, the Serbian king inflicted upon them a bloody defeat at Velbužd in Macedonia on 28th July, 1330. Never did a nation sustain so crushing a disaster. Bulgaria was virtually annihilated. This event throws light upon the strange mentality of the rulers of the Middle Ages, and above all of the Slav princes. The Serbo-Bulgarian problem could at that moment have been definitely solved. The Bulgarian magnates appealed to Stephen Uroš III, to proclaim the union

of the two States under his crown. But the Serbian king, who did not even come up to the average of contemporary rulers, refused. Fear of the Turks and the fatal mirage of Constantinople subsequently prevented the Emperor Dušan from occupying himself with the Balkan problem. Then the Turks appeared upon the scene and no further opportunity presented itself.

Unhappily for the great designs of Serbia's rulers, Hungary became too strong. The French prince, Louis of Anjou, son of Charles Robert, launched the country upon the path of federal annexation, and became the most powerful sovereign of Eastern Europe, at the same moment when France, struck to the heart at Crecy, was falling under the alien rule of England. Beside the rising power of Hungary stood the Ban of Bosnia, an eastern edition of the Duke of Burgundy, adding to his territory at the expense of Serbia, and seeking to make his country a Great Power round which the whole race would focus, and from which the centralist idea would emanate. Thus Bosnia slowly made her way towards the Adriatic, but could not as yet achieve any serious result, hemmed in as she was between a strong Hungary and a strong Serbia. For in the meantime the Serbian Kingdom had been transformed into an Empire, definitely aiming at the succession to Byzantium.

Stephen Uroš IV, to whom the Serbian people gave the name of Dušan the Mighty, surrounded himself with an international court, where Serbs, Croats, Bulgars, Greeks, Albanians, Germans, Ragusans, Venetians and Florentines all met together. Under him Serbia became a powerful state organism.

He ceded part of the Adriatic coast, the peninsula of Stagno, to the Republic of Ragusa in 1333. But he was preparing for war with Louis of Hungary, who refused to recognize his Imperial title. (On the 16th April, 1346, Dušan was crowned Emperor of the Serbs and Greeks at Skoplje.) His rivalry with Hungary brought Dušan into close touch with Venice, who flattered the "serenissimus Imperator Sclavoniæ" and humbled herself before him, in order to hold her own against Louis of Anjou. In 1343 she allied herself for the first time with Bosnia, with the Croat princes Nelipić and Šubić and with the Dalmatian towns against Hungary. But in 1345 the defection of Bosnia—which made an alliance with Louis and entering Dalmatia recovered Knin, the residence of the Ban of the Dalmatian littoral—brought to naught the efforts of the allies. Meanwhile the Serbian emperor coveted Dalmatia, and while offering Venice his alliance for the task of recovering Zara—which had revolted for the seventh time against the Republic—he concluded in 1347 a political marriage between his sister Helen and the Croat prince, Mladen Šubić III, nephew of the great Ban Mladen and lord of the towns of Clissa, Scardona and Almissa. This Serbo-Croat marriage was a prelude to Dušan's active intervention in Adriatic affairs.

Seventeenth War.—In 1346 war broke out once more between Venice and Hungary; and, not receiving active aid from the latter, the town of Zara at the end of two years of sanguinary struggle once more fell under Venetian rule. In 1348 Louis signed with Venice an armistice for eight years. This same year saw the end of the great Croat feudal

Houses, which had so long upheld the Slav banner in Dalmatia and Croatia. The Nelipić and the Šubić of Bribir disappeared from the scene as political factors of the first order. In Croatia Louis ruled as master. Venice seized Scardona and aimed a blow against Clissa and Almissa; but her ally of 1346 intervened, and ere long there arose a great struggle between Serbia and Venice, the issue of which can hardly be doubted. In 1350 the Serbian emperor invaded Dalmatia at the head of an army of 80,000 men. He occupied the territory of his sister, Mladen's widow and mother of Mladen IV. He received deputations from the towns of Sebenico and visited Ragusa in great pomp. But a sudden Byzantine diversion forced him to retrace his steps; the Dalmatian campaign remained incomplete and Venice was saved for the moment. The Turkish menace began to be visible above the horizon, and filled Dušan with disquietude. In 1354 he made overtures to the Papacy in Avignon, and demanded the title of Captain-General of Christendom. Innocent VI decided to send a mission to Serbia and his legates met the Emperor Charles IV at Pisa, on his way to be crowned in Rome. As King of Bohemia Charles entrusted them with a letter to the Serbian emperor (19th February, 1355), and in this document expressed his joy at seeing Dušan well disposed towards the cause of union between the churches. He addressed him as "his very dear brother," to whom he was bound not merely by the ties of a common monarchical mission, but also by the noble Slavonic idiom which is theirs in common.[1]

[1] *Eiusdem nobilis slavici idiomatis participatio*, and later on *Eiusdem generosæ linguæ sublimitas.*

At this moment a new war broke out between Hungary and Serbia, and Dušan received the envoys of the Pope with great coldness. These overtures came to nothing.

Dalmatian affairs once more became the order of the day. Venice wished to annex the territories of Dušan's sister, which were also coveted by the King of Hungary and by Dušan himself. The Emperor, so far from accepting the Venetian proposal, prepared for their military occupation. But the citizens of Scardona submitted to Venice rather than fall into the hands of Dušan, while Clissa was occupied by the Hungaro-Croatian troops.

The great "Gatherer" of Serbian territory did not survive this event. The sovereign whose organizing genius is revealed in his famous Code of Law, only lived a few months after Venice's new move in Dalmatia. On the 20th December, 1355, he died somewhere in Macedonia—the actual place is not known—at the age of forty-eight years. His death saved the Byzantine Empire[1] from destruction, and consequently hastened the fateful conquest of the Balkans by the Turks, who five years after his death occupied Adrianople. Finally it marked the end of the Imperial dream, and of the second attempt at political unity made by the Jugoslav race. The third attempt was to be made by Bosnia.

Eighteenth War.—A year after Dušan's death war broke out once more in Dalmatia between Venice and Hungary (1356). This is known as the "Great

[1] In 1350 Venice addressed the Emperor, whom she had inscribed in the Golden Book, under the following title: "Serenissimo Domino Stephano Grecorum Imperatori semper Augusto et Raxiæ (Serbiæ) Rege illustri."

War," the supreme and apparently final struggle between the great maritime Republic and the continental Monarchy. The Venetians were already enfeebled by their prolonged war with Genoa for supremacy in the east. The Dalmatian towns, with Ragusa as their counsellor, had made common cause with Genoa against Venice. Thus Dalmatia was favourably disposed to receive the King of Hungary, whose wife Elizabeth—the daughter of Stephen II, Ban of Bosnia, and therefore a Serbian by race—claimed to represent the rights of Bosnia, already in an expanding mood of conquest, over the Serbo-Croat lands.

The troops of Louis of Anjou forced their way by night into Zara, who opened her gates to the invaders (1357). In less than twelve months the Venetians were driven from all their positions in Dalmatia, and the Republic signed at Zara on the 18th February, 1358, a treaty of peace, which completely excluded it from the province. By the terms of this treaty Venice renounced the whole coast "stretching from the line which divides the Quarnero into two, as far as the territory of Durazzo." The extent of the disaster is shown by the fact that the Doge abandoned the title of Dux Dalmatiæ et Chroatiæ.

The wave of revolt extending from Ragusa to Trieste, against the fierce commercial egoism of Venice, made Louis' task of liberation easier. Seated on the throne of St. Stephen, the French prince established under the shadow of the patriarchal Hungarian Crown a great conception in the shape of *Autonomy*—the very thing which the Turanian aristocrats of modern "Magyaria" and their Jewish parasites have always refused to

the peoples which in earlier centuries had freely allied themselves to a suzerain Power, at once non-national and Christian. Whilst at the other end of the Adriatic, Trieste, the sworn enemy and victim of Venice, signed a treaty which earned it the protection of the House of Austria, Ragusa drove out the Venetians again and proclaimed her independence as a Republic, under the protectorate of the King of Hungary, in his capacity of King of Croatia and Dalmatia. The other towns of Dalmatia followed the example of their elder sister, and welcomed with transports of joy the new régime of liberty. For over half a century Venice found herself excluded from the eastern coast of the Adriatic. Her successful rival realized for a time that Danubian-Balkan confederation of which so many have dreamt right up to our own day, which Mazzini envisaged, and which has always found an impregnable barrier in Magyar centralism and its ally Prussian militarism. Hungary's ruler in the fourteenth century reverted to the broad policy of St. Stephen and became the arbiter of the Christian East. Upon the death of the Emperor Dušan he replaced him at the head of a more or less federal grouping in the Balkans. He delivered the Poles from the Lithuanians and Tartars, and Poland accepted him as her king. He reigned from the Vistula to Cattaro, over five Slavonic nations —the Croats, the Serbs, the Slovenes, the Poles and even part of the Russians.

Meanwhile, however, the Turks seized Adrianople and became an imminent danger to the Jugoslav race. At the great Battle of the Marica (26th September, 1371) the Serbian king, Vukašin, who had assumed royal power under the feeble successor

of the Emperor Dušan, met his death, with the flower of the Serbian chivalry. This bloody battle, of which the more famous Battle of Kosovo (1389) was in reality merely the epilogue, inaugurated Turkish rule over the Jugoslavs. Thus the terms of the problem were changed. The intervention of the Turks into the affairs of Eastern Christendom turned the national history of the Slavs into other channels, placed them under foreign domination, and paved the way for the revenge of the Venetians and the aggrandisement of Austria.

Between the Battles of the Marica and Kosovo, however, a third effort was made to group the Jugoslav lands into a single independent State. This attempt was made by Bosnia, a strange State on which the rival influences of east and west have told most deeply and which represents at once a link and a watertight division between the purely continental portion of the Serbo-Croat people and its maritime branch. Bosnia was the stake in all the many struggles between Serbia and the kings of Hungary and Croatia. It was also the great reservoir from which countless migratory movements of our race set out towards the Adriatic and towards the Save and Danube. Latin and Greek by turn, it had displayed a wellnigh Russian sensibility in matters of religion. It was the theatre of a vast mystical and social movement, which was connected with the Albigensian movement of the thirteenth century. It was this strange land, which for a little over a century assumed the part of executor of the Jugoslav political problem—thus rendering proof of the spontaneity of the movement for unity—and which sank beneath the torments of the Ottoman

yoke, bequeathing to modern times yet another obstacle to the realization of the national dream, in the conversion of its aristocracy to Islam.

Bosnia in the fourteenth century plays the same part in the east as the Duke of Burgundy in the west. She posed as the rival of Serbia and sought to supplant her, thanks to the memories which linked her to the Croat people in its evolution.

After the death of the Emperor Uroš IV, the Ban of Bosnia, Tvrtko, nephew of Ban Stephen Kotroman and of Princess Elizabeth of Serbia (daughter of King Stephen Dragutin), claimed to be the heir of the Nemanja dynasty and proclaimed himself " King of the Serbs, of Bosnia and of all the maritime countries." Venice and Ragusa, the two Powers most nearly interested in the affairs of the Western Balkans, recognized his title.

Nineteenth War.—Twenty years after the Treaty of Zara, Venice, still unable to console herself for the loss of Dalmatia, once more declared war upon Hungary, then the ally of Genoa (1378). Once more the Venetians were defeated, and the Genoese made their way to the very lagoons round the city and occupied Chioggia and Malamocco. Venice saved herself by the truly Roman greatness of her sons, but she was bleeding from a hundred wounds. She accepted the mediation of the Count of Savoy, and in the Treaty of Turin (1381) she recognized the Treaty of Zara of 1358 and once more renounced Dalmatia. On the 30th September, 1382, Trieste signed a second treaty with Austria.

Between the death of Louis the Great (11th September, 1382) and the Battle of Nicopolis (28th September, 1396) the first great defeat of Christian

Europe by the Turks, King Tvrtko of Bosnia pursued his plan of uniting all the Jugoslav countries. The Battle of Kosovo (15th June, o.s. 1389) left him quite indifferent. He took possession of almost all the coast towns, and Almissa, Spalato, Traù and Sebenico accepted him as their sovereign, in spite of the oath of loyalty which they had taken to King Louis. Finally in 1390 Tvrtko assumed the title of King of Croatia and Dalmatia. But in the following year this great prince died, and the third attempt at Serbo-Croat unification descended with him into the tomb. The next effort was not to be made till the nineteenth century, when Serbia awakened from the heavy slumbers of Ottoman oppression.

At the death of Louis the Great, the reign of his daughter Mary and her consort Sigismund, the pretensions of Charles of Durazzo and his son Ladislas of Naples to the crown of Hungary, opened up new perspectives to Venice. She saw that the recovery of Dalmatia would bring with it the mastery of the Adriatic. But she found a serious obstacle in the hostility of the Dalmatian towns, which had recognized Queen Mary and Sigismund, and came to enjoy over half a century of autonomous life, such as they had not known since Croato-Byzantine days.

Venice resorted to a stratagem. She allied herself with the Croat aristocracy, which had taken the part of the French pretender against Sigismund She, therefore, gave her recognition to Ladislas, who landed at Zara on 15th August, 1403, and was crowned King of Hungary and Croatia, but returned to Naples after charging the Bosnian prince, Hrvoje

Vukčić, to represent him in Dalmatia. Hrvoje struck his own coinage and, himself haunted by the Imperial dream, assumed the title of Grand Duke of Serbia and Bosnia, Duke of Spalato, Lord of Brazza and Lesina, Lieutenant-General of Croatia and Dalmatia. Meanwhile Sigismund three times invaded Bosnia, took prisoner King Stephen Tvrtko II, massacred the whole Bosnian nobility and stifled the Croat revolt in blood. It was in order to avenge himself for this military success of Sigismund, that Ladislas of Naples entered into secret negotiations with Venice, and in July, 1409, sold to the Republic for 100,000 ducats Zara, Novigrad, Vrana and the island of Pago, as well as all his rights over Dalmatia. This cession was absolutely illegal, since Ladislas had no right of succession to Dalmatia, and since the Dalmatian towns had recognized Mary as their legitimate sovereign and Sigismund as her successor. In point of fact Traù and Sebenico revolted, and the former sustained a long siege with indomitable courage. It was only on 22nd June, 1420, that the Bishop of the town, Simon Gospodnetić (de Dominis) capitulated to the Venetian general Loredan. Venice had to send her fleet in order to reduce Sebenico to submission.

Twentieth War, 1411–1413.—Almost at the same time Sigismund, now elected Emperor of the Romans, declared war on Venice, but was defeated. The towns of Scardona and Sebenico surrendered to the Venetian Admiral, and an armistice was concluded for five years at Trieste. In 1416 Duke Hrvoje died, after having invited the Turks to Croatia to combat Sigismund; and his inheritance on the mainland, the county of Almissa, fell to his brother-

in-law, the Count Nelipić, while the islands of Brazza, Curzola and Lesina were ceded by Sigismund to the Republic of Ragusa.

Twenty-first War, 1418–1420.—Once more Sigismund was defeated. In 1420 he ceded to Venice the whole Dalmatian coast, including Cattaro. The King of Hungary and Croatia, 62 years after the conquest of Dalmatia, had thus lost everything save the islands of Veglia and the counties of Almissa and Poljica (part of the territory of Spalato). The year 1420 marks the final conquest of Dalmatia by Venice. Under Sigismund's successor, Albert of Austria, serious struggles broke out in Croatia and Hungary; but the Turks advanced towards the Danube and into Bosnia, and Venice no longer needed to fear for her rule in Dalmatia. The struggle of seven centuries ended in her triumph. She had won the game, by the elimination of one player after another. But the legal question remained open, and the Ban of Croatia and Dalmatia continued to administer parts of the Dalmatian mainland, as though Venice did not exist.

5. Venetian Rule (1421–1797).

Dalmatia, then, did not belong to Venice until the fifteenth century. From time to time the Republic of St. Mark seized this town or that, but was constantly held in check by Croatia and Hungary, and maritime Dalmatia preserved her municipal autonomy, protected and even pampered by the King of Hungary and Croatia far more than by Venice.

Finally the Republic gained a footing in Dalmatia by the process of gradually eliminating all her ad-

versaries, and once completely installed, was henceforth free to ruin the province at her leisure, to strip her of men in place of money, to make use of her ports, to import and export, and to exploit her as she pleased. As for the hinterland, it remained under the political control of Bosnia and Hungary-Croatia.

Meanwhile it must be clearly understood that Venice never possessed the whole Dalmatian littoral. What is known as Venetian Dalmatia was Zara, Sebenico, Traù, Spalato and the islands, with the addition of Cattaro, actually reckoned as part of Venetian Albania, and the coast farther south towards Greece. This part of Dalmatia, with many restrictions so far as the Bocche di Cattaro were concerned, was to remain in her possession until 1797. But about 160 miles of coast, in other words the little free State of Poljica, formed part of the county of Spalato, and also an important strip of territory reaching from the mouth of the Narenta as far as the Bocche di Cattaro and including the islands of Lagosta, Meleda, Giuppana, Mezzo and Calamotta—all belonging to the Republic of Ragusa—remained independent of Venice. This highly important fact completely disposes of the legend that Dalmatia was purely Venetian.

The existence of an independent Ragusa on the Adriatic broke in upon Venice's claim to possession and introduced a permanent wedge into her territory. Ragusa may be regarded as a living summary of Jugoslav history on the Adriatic, as the material expression of the ties which, despite the adverse course of events, have always subsisted between the coast and its hinterland. If the country had not

been Slavonic or Balkan, Ragusa could not have existed. She was not an artificial product, a political fantasy, but a genuine reality. She evaded Venetian rule just as the other towns might have done. In the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries she encouraged the other Dalmatian Communes to resist the onslaught of Venice and to resume their own place as part of an organic whole. But circumstances were too strong, the other towns abandoned the struggle and Dalmatia was cut in two parts, Venetian and Ragusan. Ragusa shut herself within her walls and devoted her efforts to securing international recognition of her independence, while accepting the nominal protectorate of the Hungarian Crown. She thus became the great rival of Venice in the Balkans. Thanks to her intense Slavonic feeling, she extended her power together with her language, which was that of the countries subjected by the Turks. She paid an annual tribute to the Porte, she had her own diplomatic corps, and her own fleet, which took part in the battles which preceded the final Christian defeat at Varna in 1444. She obtained recognition of her neutrality from the Pope and from Spain, from the Emperor and from Venice on the eve of the Battle of Lepanto (1571), in which four Dalmatian galleys took part. But she never lost an opportunity of creating embarrassment to Venice and fanning the old flame of municipal liberty in Dalmatia. In the midst of the sixteenth century pamphlets circulated in the towns of Venice and Dalmatia, which spoke of independent Ragusa with admiration and expressed contempt for the blindness and weak spirit of resignation displayed by Zara and Spalato. Until the fall of the independent

Serb States, Ragusa formed part of the international Balkan and Adriatic system. After their fall she stood alone in the Balkans for the protection of our nationality. She imparted a touch of greatness to our language, not only by a flourishing literature, but also by a permanent contact with the Serbo-Croat people of the hinterland. By her methods of arbitration, her commerce, and her churches she upheld Slavonic Christianity from Sarajevo to Ruschuk and Varna. The diplomatic and national achievements of Ragusa are certainly not the least factors which contributed to the revolutionary movements among the Jugoslavs in the nineteenth century.

Venice found it necessary to assume the rôle of a Slavonic Power as soon as she came in contact with the world outside the gates of those towns whom her fleet held in subjection. Whenever she wished to compete with Ragusa, she laid herself out for the economic conquest of the Slav countries with the help of the Dalmatians, whose language made contact with Balkan Slavdom easy for her.

Ragusa became, as it were, a focus for all the common traditions of our race, the true herald of Slavonic aspirations. Her great poets treated Turkey and Venice equally as the enemy, when their fancy envisaged the future. They dreamt of a Slav Empire and invoked the vanished splendours of the past. With an ear to every echo, they summoned in the seventeenth century Poland to deliver Christian Slavdom. At a later date they drew their inspiration from the poets of Poland and thus attested the spontaneity of the movement which was to prepare the race for its enfranchisement from foreign masters.

As for Venetian Dalmatia, she has no political

history after 1420. In the fifteenth century the fall of Bosnia (1464) served to confirm the rule of the Republic of St. Mark, which fulfilled the negative function of a rampart against Ottoman conquest. Venice owed to this fact an increase of authority, and profited by it to extend her commercial influence and lay her hands upon the domains of the hinterland. While in 1480 the great Croat lord, Count Ivan Frankopan, ceded to her the island of Veglia in the north, she obtained in 1481 from the Bosnian Duke Stephen Kosača the district of Makarska and the Narenta. This brought to a close the first cycle of Venetian acquisition in Dalmatia; what was acquired up to then was known in Venice as the *Vecchio Acquisto.*

Venetian rule in Dalmatia falls into two distinct periods,—the first from 1420 to 1635, during which the Dalmatian people maintained a fierce struggle against the Turks, while Venice only rarely intervened and took little or no interest in the defence of the Adriatic; and from 1635 to 1797, when the life of the Republic came to an end. The year 1635 may be regarded as the date when the Ottoman conquest began to ebb in the Western Balkans.

Meanwhile Hungary was submerged by the Turks. On 29th August, 1526, at the Battle of Mohács, Suleiman the Magnificent overwhelmed the Hungarian army, and King Louis II perished on the field. Ere long the Turks installed themselves at Buda and maintained themselves in Hungary and part of Croatia for more than a century. On the other hand Venice, seeing her eastern possessions gravely menaced and even those on the Adriatic in danger, concluded Leagues with the Pope, with

the Emperor or with Spain (1538–1570), which secured her position by sea, but could not avail to undo the land conquests of Suleiman and Selim. Besides, Venice was long involved in war with the Serbian populations, who had fled from Bosnia and Serbia to the north-east coast of the Adriatic and were famous under the name of " Uskoks " or " refugees." On the mainland Knin and Klissa were successfully defended in 1522, but in 1537 the latter fell into the hands of the Turks. Thus a considerable portion of Dalmatia was occupied by the masters of Bosnia; a pasha installed himself at the very gates of Spalato, and mosques were erected, the ruins of which may still be seen at Klissa and Drniš. The Turks made inroads into the district of Zara and seized the whole Narenta district and eventually Castelnuovo in the Bocche di Cattaro. These Dalmatian territories were under the Beglerbeg of Bosnia (1580), Makarska being consigned to the Sandjak of Herzegovina, Klissa and Sinj to that of Livno in Bosnia, Knin and Scardona to that of the Lika.

The Uskoks on the sea gave endless trouble to Venice, who, tired of war, allied herself with the Turkish Pasha of Klissa against them. Venice had to wage a three years' war against these descendants of the famous Corsairs of the Narenta and Almissa —in 1557, in 1596 and in 1615. The Uskoks made their way to within sight of Venice itself, and were eventually only reduced upon the intervention of France and Spain with the Archduke Ferdinand, who, as Viceroy of the hereditary Austrian lands, protected these Slav avengers on the strength of their being Croatian subjects of his. They were deported to Croatia, and their fleet was burnt. The Serbo-Croat

people has in its national songs immortalized the Uskoks and their great leader Daničić, who routed the galleys of Venice, while singing the exploits of the Serbian heroes Marko Kraljević and Tsar Dušan.

The war of the Uskoks was a warning that the Serbo-Croat nation was still very much alive, and a symptom of the unrest from which it suffered, oppressed and scattered as it was, and deprived of all political form, so that it might serve as an object of bargaining for foreign Powers.

During the sixteenth century two national factors bear witness in Dalmatia to the indestructible vitality of the Jugoslav race. A large number of fresh immigrants, flying before the pressure of the Turks, infused new blood from the neighbouring Slav provinces; and thus the neighbourhood of Makarska was to a large extent repeopled from Bosnia and Herzegovina.[1] The county of Poljica, founded in the eleventh century by Bosnian nobles and reinforced in 1214 by certain noble Croat families flying from the Mongols, was also partly repeopled by Bosnian refugees in the sixteenth century. These migrations of the Serbo-Croat population followed a slow, peaceful and organic course, and were encouraged by Venice, who took but little interest in the national character of Dalmatia. In them she saw new reservoirs from which she could recruit soldiers to defend her own greatness. The newcomers, akin to the populations they found, soon struck root in Dalmatian soil.

The second notable factor was the sudden literary

[1] It was some of these Slavs who founded the little Serbo-Croat colony of Aquila in Southern Italy, which still preserves its Slav character.

renaissance of the Slavs in Spalato, in the Dalmatian islands and Ragusa. Of this we shall have to speak later. For the moment we will confine ourselves to the general remark that there is no instance in European history of an aristocracy writing in prose and in verse, and creating a complete literature in the language of a conquered or intruding minority. There is irrefutable evidence that Serbo-Croat literature in Dalmatia from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century was a spontaneous product of the Dalmatian soil. Its products have been published in seven volumes in the edition of *Old Croat Writers*, published by the Jugoslav Academy in Zagreb; and though their contents are of unequal value, they cannot be dismissed as in any way accidental or artificial. They are the expression of a deep national sentiment, and indeed of a physical need. Poets like Marulić, Gundulić, Menčetić, Palmotić, Gjorgjić, Hektorović, Naljesković, Držić and others, all with several quarterings to show, whether under the Venetian Government or that of Ragusa, they all knew one another by the same token: community of language and their urgent desire to express their ideas and sentiments in Slav. It was the fall of Constantinople and the Humanist renaissance which followed, which presided over this Slav literary outburst in Dalmatia. Slavism was a native plant, and had never been stifled either by Latin or Venetian tradition. These men sometimes wrote in Latin, but never in Italian, save those who lived late in the eighteenth century: and the fact that they used Latin on occasions is but another proof that the culture which they had received from the Latin West had proved incapable of rooting out their Slav mentality.

It was also in the fifteenth century that Dalmatian architecture reached its zenith. The Cathedrals of Sebenico (1450) and Traù (1420), the Palace of the Rectors at Ragusa (1390–1420–1464) bear witness to the originality of the Slav architects of Dalmatia—Master Radovan, George Matajević and others. These architects drew their inspiration from the Roman monuments in Dalmatia. They are the heirs and the independent assimilators of Roman art, with a blend of Slavonic ideas. In the same way the Dalmatian painters and sculptors of the fifteenth century, while frequenting the Italian schools of painting and sculpture, never renounced the genius of their race, but transfused their art with certain natural Slav characteristics.

We now come to the final period of Venetian rule in Dalmatia. It was only in the seventeenth century that it finally crystallized. This was the gloomiest period in the history of the province, save perhaps that which extends from the Congress of Vienna to the opening of the constitutional era in Austria (1815–1860). But the latter was the consequence of the former. The Ottoman Empire was beginning to decay, and Venice undertook a great campaign to drive the Turks out of Dalmatia. Their expulsion from the hinterland, which this involved, was the task assigned to that great leader Leonardo Foscolo, who was vigorously supported by the Dalmatian population and rid the country of the Turkish Begs and Pashas under whom it groaned. In 1635 Venice obtained from Turkey possession of the Dalmatian coastline and its hinterland up to the water-shed of he Dinaric Alps. This is known as the *Linea Nani*, after the name of

the Venetian commissary charged with the delimitation of the frontier. The *Linea Nani* included the channel of the Morlacca, the Bay of Karin to the north-east of Zara, a portion of the county of Zara and the counties of Sebenico, Traù and Spalato.

In 1647–1648 Foscolo set free the county of Poljica, Knin and Klissa, where the troops of Croatia and Bosnia covered themselves with glory. Finally in 1683 the men of Poljica contributed materially to the deliverance of Narona, Sinj, Popovo, Vrgorac and Castelnuovo. Vrana, near Zara, which was the seat of a powerful Turkish Beg, was recovered by the militia of the county of Zara, under the leadership of a priest [1] acting on Foscolo's orders.

Finally, the great war of liberation, immortalized by the intervention of the King of Poland, John Sobieski, before the walls of Vienna (12th September, 1683), led up to the Peace of Karlovitz (26th January, 1699), which set a seal upon the victories of the League, and with it of the Dalmatian people, against the Turks. By this treaty Venice also profited. The new frontier between Venetian Dalmatia and Turkish Bosnia included the towns of Knin, Vrlika, Sinj, Duare, Vrgorac and Citluk. This was known as the Linea Mocenigo, and in diplomatic language *Il Nuovo Acquisto.* The Peace of Požarevac (21st July, 1718) gave to Venice—in exchange for the Morea, which the Republic had lost with almost the entire archipelago—the district of Imotski, the left bank of the river Cetina and the upper reaches of the river Krka. This is known as the Linea Grimani or the *Nuovissimo Acquisto.*

[1] Sorić.

DALMATIA AND THE JUGOSLAV MOVEMENT

Since the eighteenth century Dalmatia, which furnished 60,000 picked troops to the Republic of St. Mark, had led a vegetable and anæmic existence, deprived of all spiritual contact with the Serbo-Croat nation—a mere point of departure for the caravans of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a military cordon, a colony without progress and without life. None the less a few great independent spirits still survived. The most authoritative Dalmatian writers, Garagnin (*Riflessioni Economico-Politiche*, Zara, 1806), Hreglianovich (*Memorie per la Storia della Dalmazia*, Zara, 1809) and Vincenzo Dandolo, an adopted son of Dalmatia, in his memoirs, are not sparing in their invectives against the Government of Venice. These sentiments they had inherited from earlier generations, which, while understanding the relative merits of a Government that had held the Turk at bay and had at the same time favoured the development of a municipal aristocracy in the towns, could not console themselves for the decadence and eclipse into which Dalmatia had fallen and for the transformation of a flourishing League of cities into a recruiting ground of soldiers and sailors in the service of a foreign Power. "The truth," a French historian has said, "is that Venice had never felt any great tenderness for a colony which for her was only of relative importance. The Venetians jealously held to Dalmatia, but only to prevent others from installing themselves. If the Turks or Austrians had gained a foothold on the Adriatic through Zara or Spalato, there would have been an end to the commercial monopoly to which Venice still laid claim in a sea which was almost completely Venetian.

Once the maritime rule of powerful neighbours expanded, Venice saw her commercial interests seriously compromised."

We must not allow ourselves to be taken in by the picturesque lions of St. Mark on the ramparts of the Dalmatian towns or by the benevolent, or rather somnolent, attitude of Venetian rule in Dalmatia. Nor must we allow ourselves to be deceived by *post-mortem* panegyrics or by the well-known incident of Venetian flags pathetically buried beneath the altars of Zara and Perasto. It is quite true that the Venetian Government did not inflict upon Dalmatia the scourge of feudalism. It is quite true that it did not allow the Turks to instal themselves on that Slavonic coast, lit up by the Latin smile. It is quite true that the memory of common struggles for the defence of civilization and of *Te Deums* at St. Mark's, kindled feelings of pride among the Dalmatian families. But this foreign Government did nothing for Dalmatia : it brought neither schools nor hospitals nor roads. But for private initiative on the part of the Dalmatians themselves, the unhappy province would have languished in darkness and penury. The fairy beauty of Venice, her military glory and the fame of her art, the mystery and intoxication which she evoked, could not console the Dalmatian people for their ruined life ; and hence they remained fiercely Slav, just as the people of the Ionian Islands and the Morea remained fiercely Greek.

Thus after having defended " La Dominatrice " for the last time with unshakable and touching loyalty, their first step, as we shall see, was to demand in 1797 union with the kinsmen from whom they

had so long been separated. They simply desired to take up once more the interrupted thread of their national history. Venice had left no trace in their hearts. After the gloomy period which followed the Congress of Vienna, the people demanded from the bottom of its heart the reopening of that national temple from which the Slav soul had never departed.

In 1797, by the terms of the Treaty of Campo Formio, Dalmatia, with the exception of the territory of Ragusa, was handed over by the French Directory to the Habsburg Monarchy. After the Napoleonic occupation (1806–1814), Dalmatia, this time with the addition of Ragusa, was again made over to Austria by the Great Powers, under the terms of the Treaty of Vienna. Since that date Dalmatia has lived a double life—on the one hand the life of an Austrian province, miserable and neglected, and on the other an inward life devoted to the development of its national consciousness—a process powerfully accelerated by Serbia's movement for unity.

It is to these national aspirations that the following pages are dedicated.

Dalmatia and the Jugoslav Movement

CHAPTER I

Slav character of Dalmatia—Venetian policy without national bias—Development of Slav literature in Dalmatia—The Dalmatian aristocracy—Ragusa—Jugoslav unity foreshadowed since the sixteenth century—Dalmatian artists—Slav character of their work—Resistance offered by Dalmatian Slavdom to Venetian influence—The eighteenth century—The Italian language in Dalmatia—Summary of the Venetian rule.

FROM time to time, during the course of a thousand years of ever-changing alien domination, a national sentiment crept along the shores of the Adriatic, as the flicker of a lamp tended by unknown vestals glides along the walls of a vast necropolis. And always this sentiment assumed the Slav guise. It was the direct, spontaneous emanation of the tongue which had ousted even the speech of Mighty Rome.

Slav sentiment is as old as the mediaeval life of that ragged coast-line which there projects itself into the Adriatic. A coast-line of innumerable headlands and islands basking in the Southern sun, the bulwark and defence of the peninsula of the Thracians and Illyrians and at the same time a vital

organ with many tentacles, which by its absorption of Latin civilization became a very system of spiritual channels, whereby the Slav lands are irrigated by the springs of Roman thought.

But the subconscious, all-pervading feeling of an individuality separate from the Latin world was—so far as the miseries and the torpor of the times permitted—never anything but Slav in Dalmatia. The only Idea, assuming that an idea existed, was the Slav Idea. The only language that set the minds aflame, although influenced by the Latin psyche, was the Slav idiom. A vague Idea, an imperfect Idea, an Idea obscured by changing rules, by struggles, oblivions, troubles, by misery without end, but a live, spontaneous Idea. Whenever the Dalmatian people had cause or desire to smile, it smiled in the idiom of its Slav forefathers. The spontaneous emotions of the heart reveal themselves in the mother-tongue. Man smiles and dies, loves and suffers in the familiar accents of maternal vigils by the fireside of home. This proof is worth millions of learned proofs drawn from ancient folios.

Mazzini divined this, as that great man divined so many matters hidden from the eyes of the profane and the politician, but revealed to the pure in heart.

"The Slav movement"—these are his immortal words—"springs like our own, spontaneously from the instincts and the just pride of peoples, from the germs of the future hidden in historical traditions and national ballads, from the example of other nations, from the awakening of ideas which seek and fail to find a free outlet, from a consciousness awakened to the sense of a mission to be accomplished, inscribed in the Divine design which informed

Europe with a common progressive fate."[1] In these few words lies the whole history of Dalmatia.

And who could, or would have robbed Dalmatia of her Slav soul?

Certainly not Venice. The great Republic never pursued a national policy in Dalmatia; she was herself before all things anational—a purely Venetian State. She would not either impose her language upon the inhabitants of Dalmatia or propagate it among them, as some of our contemporaries imagine. She never considered Dalmatia as her own territory, as a continuation of her soul, but always as a military colony; an object of exploitation, a military and customs rampart against her rivals in the West and the insolence of the Ottoman Empire.

Venice did not hesitate to call things by their names. Upon Dalmatia, isolated from the world and linked with Venice only by her commerce and the powerful naval squadron stationed in her waters, the Republic never imposed anything that was not demanded by urgent military necessity. She always recognized the Slav character of Dalmatia by plain acts and not by rhetorical phrases, so alien to the temperament of the Republic.

But neither did she encourage it. She accepted it and ignored it, as she ignored everything that concerned the spiritual life of the former Kingdom of Dalmatia.

This federation of municipalities ruled by statutes hallowed by immemorable age, this people of the interior ruled by equally ancient customs, was governed only apparently by Venice, with a minimum appara-

[1] *Politica Internazionale*, 62; 1871, Ed. Nathan.

tus of officials, with many ducal decrees, with a great display of armed force, more naval than military, with many commercial restrictions, with a jealous international surveillance, kept ever on the alert by the hated little Republic of Ragusa, which in this iron-bound military system offered the Dalmatian spirit a window open to all the breezes of the mountains and the high seas.

But Venice would neither attack the national speech of the Dalmatians, nor would she take an interest in their fate. She was superbly indifferent, and while at the court of the Medici our language at the end of the fifteenth century claimed the attention of scholars; while Lorenzo the Magnificent went so far as to have the Slav (Serbo-Croat) tongue publicly taught in Florence, beside Greek and Latin, and Marino Gundulić, the brother of the celebrated author of the *Osmanide*, for three long years instructed the Grand Duke Ferdinand II in the Serbo-Croat language and literature, Venice—the mistress of a Slav people—would tolerate neither a printing-press nor a school in Dalmatia. She refused in spite of the constant suggestions of her Provveditori Generali, of men like Alvise Mocenigo, who reported that during his term of office (1777) there was not in Dalmatia "a single national college for the education of young people desirous of acquiring light and knowledge" —and Angelo Diedo (1791), who prayed that our parish priests should receive a suitable remuneration on condition that they instructed the rising generation in "reading, writing, reckoning and the elements of farming," thus furnishing wider opportunities for education and study.

Venice did not reply. She commanded nothing and forbade nothing. She took all for granted, so long as the valiant Dalmatian people formed with their bodies a bastion for her greatness.

She called the Dalmatians "Croats," without further ado. The Dalmatian cavalry was called the "Capelletti croati a cavallo," and their leader was styled "Capitanio de' Crovatti a cavallo." The Counts Fanfogna, di Possedaria and Begna were Dalmatian nobles, who received these titles in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries from Venice, and not from the Imperial Austrian Government!

Up to the end of the seventeenth century not only the higher clergy of Dalmatia but even the Provveditori of St. Mark corresponded in Serbo-Croat and in Cyrillic characters with the subjects of the Most Serene Republic, on whose behalf the secretaries and clerks at Zara forwarded the orders of the Governors in the Slav tongue. General Foscolo, the last great Venetian soldier in Dalmatia, the defender of the hill-country against the Turks (1647-1648), wrote as follows to the Count di Possedaria: "I am writing the enclosed to Smiljanić (a renowned Dalmatian voivode, sworn enemy of the Turks)—if your lordship will be so kind as to read it to him, as I have not time to translate it into Croat."

How different is the true history of Dalmatia from the official version given out for popular consumption in our day!

Venice—the absolute mistress of Dalmatia for fully five centuries, the Lion of St. Mark on the city walls symbolizing the complete surrender of the province. A rude and nameless population, incap-

able of sentiment or progress, enslaved and Slav, subjected to the genius of the lagoons, overweighted by a powerful aristocracy, and a highly enlightened urban population, all the remote posterity of Rome, being either descended from the legionaries of the Mistress of the World, or formed from a nucleus of Slavs transformed by the higher civilization, weaned from the rude hovels and barbarous accents of their nomad forefathers. Dalmatia, designed by Providence to serve as the march of Venice, an Italian appanage of the Queen of the Seas, shaken in its blind devotion by the threats and persuasions of peoples from beyond the mountains, treacherously incited against their unhappy neighbours—peoples who have lain in wait for centuries and are now throwing themselves upon the corpse of San Marco to divide the spoils!

This is, approximately, the story disseminated in our day in order to rouse passions and justify conquests; to tear asunder the age-long dream of the Dalmatian people.

But the true story is very different. Venice was never sure of her prey, except perhaps, in her old age, towards the end of the seventeenth century.

Up to that period it was not so much Dalmatia as the waterway of the Adriatic itself which was the more or less undisputed dominion of a Republic which breathed, as a fish by its gills, in virtue of this domain and could not have breathed otherwise, since the mainland of Italy, of which Venice occupied a small fragment, was really a forbidden garden of the Hesperides for her.

The power of Venice extended as far as the power of her navies. But Dalmatia, and precisely the

littoral—since the interior belonged to anybody rather than to Venice—did not submit until after endless assaults and conflicts. Nor did Venice enjoy her illusory power in peace, except when united Europe was engaged in abating the fury of the Ottoman tide, which flowed up to the very ramparts of the Dalmatian towns.

The so-called *Venezianismo* did not become established in Dalmatia until the latter end of the sixteenth century, when by the Treaties of Karlovci (1699) and that of Požarevac (1714) a territory peopled by Serbo-Croats of unmixed stock was entrusted to the protection of the Republic against the Ottoman barbarians.

But this was not all. There was an agreement for mutual protection, an association in view of a common purpose, viz. the defence of Venice and of the mother country. Thus from one generation to another were handed down, instinctively, preserved as an inviolate heritage, the songs and hopes of the Slav people under the protection of and not in bondage to the great naval Power of the Adriatic. Venice remained indifferent to the day of her death, to the problems unconsciously maturing within the people entrusted to it by fate—problems which materialized with irresistible force in the century following upon its ruin.

Only in the seventeenth century do we find the Pax Veneta consolidated as the supreme formula of physical self-preservation. In the seventeenth century—to the superficial observer—the Dalmatian coast became Italianized. Then, if ever, the Italian peninsula could have laid claim to Dalmatia, had Italy at that time been a strong, united, national

State. These were the times described by Nievo in writing of his native Friuli. His pages might with but trifling modifications be applied to Dalmatia. But this was only for the moment. The Republic fell on the threshold of the new evolution, and her divorce from Dalmatia was sealed for ever by the departure of the Slav soldiers from those military marches to whom the dying Republic *would not* entrust either their own defence or their own rejuvenation. "The Slavs"—said Altoviti to Vice-Captain di Portogruaro—"may go home when they like." They went home, and for ever.

Throughout all the phases of her story, the flame of Slav vitality shone brightly in Dalmatia. Whenever a Dalmatian had a poetic inspiration or desired to give expression to the faith of his fathers, he sang in Slav, and hastened to Venice, where the Slav writings of Dalmatian authors were printed freely without hindrance by the Signoria. Up to the dawn of the nineteenth century Dalmatia contributed more to the field of Serbo-Croat literature than all the other Serbo-Croat lands put together.

During the nineteenth century Dalmatia has given to Serbo-Croat art, science and literature their most powerful and original interpreters. It is no longer possible to-day to discriminate between Dalmatia on the one hand and Croatia or Serbia on the other in intellectual life. Artists like Meštrović, Rosandić, Bukovac, Medović, Desković, Vidović and Murat; writers like Voinovitch (Ivo), Tresić, Begović, Nazor, Car, Cippico (John), Katalinić, Korolija, Simunović, Rešetar, etc.—not to mention the dead, among them Botić, Budmani, Gradi, Kazali, Vodopić, Petranović, Petrić, Buzolić, Ljubić—form a mighty array

testifying to the Slav Idea in Dalmatia. What the province has contributed to Jugoslav civilization bears so definite and spontaneous a character, that this achievement alone would suffice to invest Dalmatia with a special life, a conscience and a mission. Moreover, the blossoms of to-day spring from very ancient stock. Their evolution is manifest, their intrinsic character undeniable. It defies all controversy over the Slav character of Dalmatia.

But to return to our ancestors.

From the fifteenth to the eighteenth century, Dalmatia, from Cherso and Pago to Ragusa and Cattaro, produced no less than *one hundred and twenty-two* Slav authors. Of this host of men of letters, the free city of Ragusa was responsible for seventy-six. Zara only contributed five, but by no means undistinguished names, Sebenico four, Spalato eighteen, Curzola and Lesina eight, Lissa two, Makarska only one, but it was that of the immortal friar Andrija Kačić—and Traù one, Ivan Lučić, the author of *De Regno Croatiæ et Dalmatiæ.*

In these statistics of mine I am including only those writers whose words are read and studied in our schools, whose finest pages are included in our anthologies, the living and perennial flowers of our national soul.

Though much of this literature may doubtless be described as "imitative," yet in the domain of lyrical poetry the Dalmatian poets are for the greater part exquisitely original. In their epic, dramatic and idyllic poetry, however, and in their sacred prose, imitation, at times betraying an unconscious literary plagiarism, is frankly evident. They are

modelled on the Italian authors from Tasso to Marini. But let anybody point out a literature which was not imitative, and perhaps even more so than the Dalmatian, in the fourteenth and fifteenth century, except the Italian. And what are we to say of this same Italian literature during the early Renaissance? Rather would I say that the very fact of this imitativeness is a strong argument in favour of the Slav character of Dalmatia.[1] The transfusion of a foreign literature into the native idiom satisfied an imperative need of the national soul. Without such transfusion and metamorphosis, the soul of the poet would not have entered upon a sense of actual possession, the only true and profound characteristic of every national literature. And in this, the highest sense of the word, the Slav literature of Dalmatia is truly national.

Almost all these writers were nobles. This sole fact disposes of another legend, so blindly accepted and repeated, of a cultivated Italian class and a nobility opposed to a semi-barbarous Slav rural population. This far-reaching error has been shared even by the champions of the Slav claim to Dalmatia. Yet the truth is that all, or almost all the passionate devotees to the national idiom, both during the

[1] "If we consider," said Tommasèo, "the restricted area, the poverty of the country, the lack of local schools no less than of printing-presses, the absence of Illyric books and the small number of readers in the country; the division between the Latin and Greek rites, which still further diminished that small number by making the two alphabets and the two languages a very real difference, we shall find that what the Dalmatians did for Slav letters is certainly very little, but it is more than the Italians, with so many millions of men, and such wealth of example and tradition, books and aids in general, have done for their own."—*Secondo Esilio*, ii. 131.

Middle Ages and in modern times up to the Revolution, belonged to families of the highest aristocracy, to houses which already in the sixteenth century had been noble for centuries. Of this time at least it is not true, and of subsequent times it is only to a very small extent true to assert that the educated aristocracy of Dalmatia formed a class belonging to a different nationality from that of the uneducated rural element.

The aristocracy was in overwhelming majority Slav. A Slav was Barakovič of Zara (1548–1628), who wrote the "Vila Slovinska," a charming poem in which the poet remodels the story of the foundation of Zara according to his own fancy, and attributes to a spouse of Neptune, a daughter of Ninus of Babylon, the motherhood of a hero named *Slovan*, through whom the town of Zara boasts of belonging to the Slav stock. And this patrician of Zara, who printed his poem under the very eyes of the Inquisitors of Venice in 1614, deplores in fine Slav verse, that since the glorious epoch of Marulič, foreigners have taken possession of his native land, and that his countrymen have betrayed the Slav Vila in being ashamed of speaking their own mother-tongue.[1] But he—sings the poet—has remained faithful to her and will continue to sing her praises and those of the Slav tongue.

Another patrician of Zara was Bernard Karnarutič (1553–1600), the author of a poem entitled "Vazetje Sigeta Grada" (The taking of the town of Siget), the first heroic poem in Serbo-Croat literature—

[1] Barakovič died in Rome, and on his tomb in S. Girolamo degli Illirici are inscribed the words: "Musarum Illyricarum miro cultori."

extolling the heroism of Zrinjski, Ban of Croatia —a highly refined writer, with great wealth and power of expression. Another scion of an ancient Slav noble house was the celebrated Marko Marulić of Spalato (1450–1527), a graduate of the University of Padua, who loved his mother-tongue most deeply, a highly distinguished poet and philosopher of his day. Nobles were also Lučić of Traù, Ivanisević of Brazza (*d.* 1665), theologian and poet, author of the *Slav Parnassus*; Kanavelić of Curzola (*d.* 1719), one of the most notable Slav poets of the age, Mrnjavić of Sebenico (*d.* 1639), Hannibal Lučic of Lesina (*d.* 1535), and Peter Hektorović (*d.* 1567), whose mother came of the noble Venetian house of Balbi, and Brother Andrija Kačić-Miosić (1696–1769), the scion of a feudal house possessing sovereign rights over a great stretch of the Makarska littoral—this priest filled with prophetic genius, the prophet of the future Jugoslavia, who far back in the eighteenth century was the first to collect the Serbian ballads, for which achievement Tommasèo pronounced him " deserving of gratitude and respect."

All these were of noble blood. And I am deliberately passing over in silence that marvellous city of Ragusa, her powerful and numerous aristocracy, affecting Latin ways, but more profoundly Slav than ever the Venetian nobility was Italian. The Ragusan Republic drew up its records in Latin and later on in Italian, but its senators debated in Serbian and corresponded in Serbian with the Serbian princes, signed their family names in Serbian and drew up their secret instructions to their ambassadors in Serbian, written in Serbian characters. Being intolerant in religious matters, Ragusa kept the Slavs

from beyond the mountain away from her borders, but all her communications with them were conducted in Serbian. She formed alliances with the Dalmatians to combat Venice, and despised them for their subjection to St. Mark; she accepted the Jesuits and their Latin speech—by no means the least cause of the spread of Italian along the Dalmatian coast—but not only attended the "Panslav" apotheoses composed in her "sweet mother-tongue" by her patrician poets, but officially professed herself attached to the Slav stock. After the Battle of Poltava the Republic of Ragusa wrote to Peter the Great: "Nihil huic Reipublicæ antiquius nihil jucundius tuæ Czareæ Nationis Idiomatisve slavici spendidissimæ gloriæ venerationis studia obsequenti cultu deferre" (10th November, 1717), and on another occasion the Republic declared to the same Tsar that it was "Tam arcte idiomatis vinculo Imperio Tuo coniuncta" (30th October, 1709).

Between Venetian Dalmatia and Ragusa there was a mutual tie of national poetry, a kind of intellectual *carbonarismo* of few but eloquent symbols, which greatly helped to keep the spirit of nationalism awake from Zara to Cattaro, until the day of national resurrection.

Of justly famous Ragusans I will only mention Čubranović, who served under the walls of Milan as Commander of a Venetian cavalry regiment in 1520, but remembered his Slav mother-country and dedicated his praise to the "Lord of the speech of all of us dwellers on the Danube" (read: the King of Hungary and Croatia); Gundulić, filled with the sacred fire, proud that Ragusa alone had preserved her liberty among the neighbouring Slav lands

when rent by the jaws of the horrible dragon (read: The Turk) and the teeth of the raging lion (read: Venice)[1]—the first among Slav statesmen to proclaim the union of the brothers in race in despite of the diversity of faith;[2] Giorgi, President of the Academy of Padua, but who nevertheless encouraged his countrymen to write their scientific works in Serbian. They were nobly seconded throughout Dalmatia by the nobles of the cities and the isles, such as the Curzolan patrician Vidali who, forgetting territorial boundaries, wrote (in the sixteenth century) to the Ragusan Naljesković that Ragusa herself filled all Illyria, "the crown and boast of all Croatian towns," the noble Lučić of Lesina, who clings to the old Ragusan oak, as to a stronghold where the "sweet Slav speech" reigns supreme, and the noble Friar Kačić of Makarska, who by extending the somewhat parochial conception of a Slav Dalmatia, first divined the great ideal and, regarding all Jugoslavs as brothers, sang the praises of the heroes of Dalmatia and Croatia, of Serbia and Bosnia, and even of Bulgaria, embracing them all in one great impulse of love, and thus foreshadowing Balkan unity. Presently this movement assumed a more pronounced form in Spalato, and took the form of democratic propaganda. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, an Illyrian Academy was founded in the city of Diocletian (Spalato), with the object of instructing the people by disseminating books adapted to the popular intelligence and written in the national idiom.

"A most noble task," writes G. Ferrari-Cupilli,

[1] Canto viii. of the poem "Osman," 143–146.
[2] Ibid, canto v. stanza 118.

" showing, how in our past, which was not so obscure and inert as the garrulous flatterers of the present would have it believed, we already possessed a splendid example of what we see achieved by present enterprise."

Count Giov. Pietro Marchi, himself the translator of the *Pensieri Christiani* (author unknown) into Serbo-Croatian, a noble of Spalato, was Principal of this Academy. Other members were Marco Dumaneo,[1] Archpriest of Spalato, Dr. Raduleo and Tanzlinger-Zanotti of Zara. All were passionately devoted to the cult of Slav letters and literature, and pioneers in compiling a great dictionary of the Serbo-Croat tongue.

Thus under a Government, alien, but tolerant—perhaps in virtue of that mysterious kinship with the Slav blood which made the Venetian people something vaguely distinct and enigmatic in Italy —these ideas were disseminated in Dalmatia by the mighty voice of the race.

A second great institution—an agricultural society —was founded at Zara in the eighteenth century. It annually distributed six hundred copies of a small treatise on agriculture for the use of the country people. These booklets were edited in Serbo-Croatian (five hundred copies printed in Italian). It was still in the eighteenth century that Stratico, the celebrated Bishop of Lesina, sent repeated instructions to his priests urging the propagation of the Catholic cult in the Serbo-Croat tongue. " I

[1] *I.e.* Dumanić, just as Raduleo is Radulić and Tommasèo Tomasić. All personal names in Dalmatia ending in *eo* are of Slav origin ending in *ć*. It was the fashion to Latinize names; the *eo* is the same as the Latin *eus*.

cannot tell you," he writes on one of these occasions, "what tenderness comes over me when I hear the divine praises and the offering of the Holy Sacrament of the Mass sung in the speech I imbibed with my mother's milk. and which I have, alas! been made to lose and to forget owing to the unfortunate concatenation of circumstances, which compelled me leave my native Dalmatia at an early age."

The priests of the county of Poljica, which comprises a large part of territory of Spalato, Almissa, and Sign—the very centre of Dalmatia—were veritable apostles of the people during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and many of them are justly famous in Dalmatian history for creating a focus of Slav culture in the very heart of the country.

Far from hindering their labours, the Venetian Government even looked upon them as beneficial, as tending to support the popular resistance against the Turks; and Venice, in her wisdom, could only approve. She had no intention of depriving the people of its nationality. We could multiply proofs of this independent development of Dalmatian Slavdom, exposing the precarious character of the Venetian domination. The Government was superposed upon an indestructible bedrock of Slavdom; it was no growth of the soil. Slav civilization did not look towards it. It maintained but a negative sovereignty, a kind of "colonial defence."

Dalmatia's innate character also revealed itself in that galaxy of great artists which Dalmatia contributed to the glories of the Renaissance. They bear witness to the vitality of the Slav race and its beneficent influence upon the legacy of the Roman age in Dalmatia.

George Matajević of Sebenico, called Orsini il Dalmata (1441–1476)—the most original and the most specifically Dalmatian of these artists—the architect of the Loggia dei Mercanti in Ancona, of Sebenico Cathedral and the restored Palazzo Pubblico in Ragusa; Matthew Gojković, who restored the beautiful Cathedral of Traù; Francesco Laurana, called *Schiavone* (1425–1500), creator of the sweet and quaint Madonnas of Noto, Palermo and Sciacca and of two of the most admirable female portrait busts of the Renaissance[1]; Lucian Laurana, Bramante's teacher, architect of the Palace of the Dukes of Urbino, the loftiest and purest architectural achievement of the second Renaissance; George Ćulinović, called Gregorio Schiavone (1450–1511), Squarcione's favourite pupil, who decorated his madonnas with Serbian prayers in cyrillic lettering; Ivan Duknović (1445–1509), a noble of Traù, called il Dalmata, the collaborator of Mino da Fiesole; Nicolò Schiavone, called dall'Arca (*d.* 1494), a pupil of Jacopo della Quercia, architect of the tomb of St. Dominic in Bologna; Andrew Medulić (1522–1582), called *lo Schiavone*, the bold Titianesque colorist; Julius Glović (Clovio), the greatest miniature painter of the fifteenth century, a Croat by birth, but of Macedonian origin; and perhaps Carpaccio—all these highly gifted artists, naturally called *Schiavone*, i.e. Slavs, by the Italians of their day, most plainly show the hall-mark of their Slav origin in all their work, both in their technique, which is restrained, simple and archaic, but at the same time full of temperament and individuality,

[1] Battista Sforza in the Bargello in Florence, and a Princess of Aragon in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin.

and in the moral and spiritual qualities reflected in their work.

This fact has been mentioned by the more recent authorities on the history of Art, from among whom I will quote Wilhelm Rolfs, who in the introductory chapter of his ponderous work on Francesco Laurana (a native of Vrana, in the county of Zara), lays special stress upon the distinctly Slav element in the Dalmatian artists, which reveals itself in their keen perception, and adaptability, in their sweet and virginal temperament, in the tendency towards "character," in their faithfulness to tradition, and finally in their modest, almost morbid, love of anonymity, and in the total absence of all ostentation.

In these artists, as in the Slav or Latin poets, their contemporaries, we see clearly revealed what Taine defines as that dependence which binds individual originality to social life, and endows the inventive faculty of the artists with the active energies of the nation. It therefore points to a deplorable superficiality, and reveals an inherent lack of analytical power and a lapse from the strict standard of scientific morality in favour of the political passions of the moment, when certain writers upon art attempt to undervalue and even ignore those elements of race and *milieu* in which the Dalmatian artists lived and worked.

The atmosphere which surrounded them was certainly that of the Italian Renaissance (tempered, however, by the inner vision of the Slav Fatherland), i.e. one of the highest manifestations of civilization in a great historic moment. How was tiny Dalmatia to escape this influence, when even France was scarcely able to do so, although imbued with the

Gothic spirit and possessing profound and original artistic vitality? But to infer the nationality of a people from so great and universal an event as the Renaissance—and similarly from the previous fact of Roman influence—is as puerile as the wish to enslave it for the love of an epoch in art; for this is to transform art, in whose essence it lies to bring freedom, into a moral fetter and political servitude.

The Renaissance was, nevertheless, not the characteristic and determining factor in the history of Dalmatia. It was different with the personal contribution of the Dalmatian artists, who so admirably bore witness to the power and sturdy youthfulness of the Slav race. New and eloquent proof of the clear-cut individuality of Dalmatia, and of the presence within her of a national force which revealed itself both in her internal structure and in her manifestation of the artistic ideal as something different from the national forces at work in the neighbouring Peninsula! And it is also a further eloquent proof of the antiquity of that process of Slavization to which Dalmatia owes her characteristic originality.

This force was not the offspring of pastoral tribes invading the walls of ancient Romance cities, but of an admirable fusion of all classes, which took place long before the days of Dante, and which—the triumphal arches and inscriptions notwithstanding—imparts to Dalmatia the character of a cradle of Slav thought. Rich and powerful families of the highest Slav nobility, such as the Possedaria and Begna of Zara, the Fanfogna of Traù, and the Kačić of the Littoral, houses famous in war and politics, intermarried with the descendants of Latin

gentes and transmuted the Roman spirit, while Venice paid no heed, just as Rome always refused to take an interest in the obscure birth-throes of the nations subject to her sway until in the end she feebly succumbed to their domination. Dalmatia, Slavized of old, in her turn conquered the alien element.

The Alberti, Cavagnini, Zanotti, and Bruère Desrivaux did not, in fact, feel as if they were on Latin soil but, on the contrary, assimilated themselves to the Slav element, yielding to the character of the country.

This phenomenon has persisted right up to our own time in the case of the noble houses of the Borelli and the Cambi, who have proved themselves more conscious of their duty towards the land of their adoption than many purely Slav sons of Dalmatia.

That subsequently many families of the Slav aristocracy went over to the opposite camp and proved unfaithful to the Slav traditions of their race, is an undeniable fact, though not surprising to anybody who will reflect how great and how manifold were the difficulties amid which in those days the frail lamp of national consciousness was kept alive.

Dalmatia was completely isolated. The Turk was master in the Serbo-Croat lands of the interior, whence came nothing but the plague and caravans dealing in furs and slaves. The lands beyond the Velebit mountains, though the tradition of a liberal class constitution was still alive, languished in the grip of a barren feudalism. Communications were completely severed, and everybody turned to Venice.

Dalmatia drifted to leeward like some great galleon with her two hundred thousand survivors of the first great shipwreck of the Jugoslav race in the Middle Ages. What wonder if beneath an horizon already growing darker and stormier, with the national thought prostrate and blighted by daily contact with misery and with the Venetian bureaucracy, the radiant vision that loomed behind the national literature grew faint? What more natural than that many families who were dependent for their living upon the Serene Republic and her heritage upon the Adriatic, should oppose a Venetian lethargy to the summons of the heralds of The Idea, which now penetrated from the far plains of Croatia and Serbia?

The eighteenth century sufficiently explains the apostacy of the italianized oligarchy and its struggle against the Slav spring tide. But flashes of light from time to time pierced the darkness with the thought of National Unity—even during the period of the most abject servitude.

Tommaséo was therefore perfectly right in asserting that "Dalmatia had kept herself Slav better than Italy had kept herself Italian."[1] He meant that a country which had been for centuries under the government of a State Italian in blood and language, if not in sentiment, and deprived of all contact whatsoever with the brothers of its race, deserved more credit for having remained true to the call of the blood than Italy, which, though divided and in great part subject to alien rule, found nevertheless in provident nature and the shadow of Eternal Rome the consciousness of her national Ego.

[1] April 8, 1840, *Epistolario II*, 152.

And yet our people was beset by many temptations, nor was there any attraction that could have lured it away from the great Republic. Politically Venice was all-powerful where Dalmatia was concerned. For more than a century the Dalmatian people were yet to remain under the alien domination, to which they remained faithful so long as there remained a single ray of hope that they might win by legitimate means and intellectual progress what Venice had failed to give them, viz. a fatherland. And if they paid homage to Imperial Venice, they never permitted themselves to be dazzled by the splendours of the Bride of the Sea, but clung tenaciously to their mother-tongue, for which even Tommaséo reserved the gentlest side of his wayward, stubborn and bitter temperament. And in my opinion the most eloquent symbol of that obstinate character, which was revered by all social classes in the little country, is to be found in that Dalmatian peasant, who "in the twenty odd years he has spent here"—as Tommaseo wrote to Capponi from Venice—"has not yet learnt Italian, but has a heart which at once responds to every proof of kindness," [1] and whom the great man kept near himself even in the midst of all his political labours for Her who was not his true mother-country.

By this I do *not* mean to deny, or to minimize the importance of the fact, that all along the Dalmatian coast there was a Latin dialect spoken which was subsequently replaced by Italo-Venetian. Certainly Italian was spoken there, and fortunately it is spoken there still. But the ancient Romance idiom was spoken in maritime Dalmatia long before

[1] April 8, 1840, *Epistolario II*, 152.

the Venetian rule. And when it became quietly extinct, or even earlier, it was replaced north of the Narenta by the Venetian dialect, whereas in Ragusa, which was not allied to Venice, it was retained in certain judicial forms until the sixteenth century, when it gave place among the educated classes to the Tuscan speech. This, although admirably spoken, was always written so vilely up to the beginning of the nineteenth century, that the distinguished Dalmatian historian, Sperato Nodilo, criticizing Resti's Ragusan chronicles, could truthfully say that the Ragusans could write only in Latin or in Serbian. And this remark applies equally to central and northern Dalmatia. Up to the first decades of the nineteenth century the Dalmatians scarcely ever wrote in Italian : they simply spoke it. The Venetian idiom was retained, principally as the State language, for imperative considerations of administration, commerce, navigation and communication with the Metropolis. It was furthermore retained as the mark of a privileged nobility, which, though more closely akin to the peasantry than was the aristocracy of the former age, was yet content to vegetate after the manner of the Venetian. Without schools, without intellectual food, how could the unfortunate province fail to sink into decay and intellectual unproductivity ? Our forefathers had travelled and lived in contact with the dramatic events of the conflict between East and West ; moreover, the national spirit and the cult of Slav letters had enlightened the Dalmatian people from above, and such of them, nobles or burghers, as were educated in Italy had learnt from her to love their native tongue all the more fervently. But the seventeenth

century dried up the tender shoots, and Dalmatia became poor, stagnant and weary, as if suspended in the void, almost lost to her race.

Yet always, at one point or another of the coast, some voice would make itself heard, like the voices of Kačić and Giorgi, showing that the Slav soul of Dalmatia was not spent, but only lying benumbed in the bog of a regimen that had become stale and barren, but from which a generation to come might yet recall her to new life, like the enchanted Princess in the old fairy tale.

CHAPTER II

Fall of Venice—Earliest movement in Dalmatia for union with Croatia (1797)—Illyrism (1830)—Niccolò Tommasèo—His genius—Tommasèo the herald of the Illyric idea and the union of Dalmatia with the Serbo-Croat lands—The *Scintille*—The poem "*Alla Dalmazia*"—Zara and the Slav Congress in Prague (1848)—Cause and effect of the Dalmatian national movement—Dalmatian academic youth in Padua—Count Orsato Pozza—Slav activity of the Dalmatians in Padua and in Venice (1843–1849)—Events of 1848 and the Serbo-Croat War against Hungary—Nature of the Slavo-Magyar conflict—N. Tommasèo's attitude towards the movement of 1848—Speech of Count Cavour (20th October, 1848)—Effects of the war.

VENICE fell, and "in her death, like so many other dead, was endowed with all the virtues in the obligatory funeral orations. There was no further question of recrimination. All her faults were forgotten and only the records of her glory remained."[1]

After the obsequies of an aristocracy which had committed suicide, the first thought of a group of Dalmatian nobles and citizens was to demand the restoration of that Public Right, which had been forcibly suspended in 1420 and consecrated by the subconscious feeling of community of blood and language with the countries beyond the mountains

[1] *Pisani. La Dalmatie de 1797 à 1815*, Paris 1892. Cf. also the verdict on the Venetian régime in Dalmatia by Charles Diehl in his latest book *Une République Patricienne. Venise.* Paris, Flammarion, 1915.

where that same Right prevailed. Several eminent men, like Lelio Cippico, Archbishop of Spalato, Count George Voinovich,[1] Blasković, Bishop of Makarska, the Spalatan nobles Cindro, degli Alberti and Milesi, with several politicians of Sebenico and Zara, addressed a petition to the Ban of Croatia (on 10th July, 1797, two months after the tragic abdication of Venice) demanding the union of Dalmatia with the Kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia, which had concluded the well-known treaty with Hungary in 1102. Owing to the energetic opposition of the Austrian Chancellor Thugut, the project suffered shipwreck and was not mooted again until 1860. But it was a valuable indication, an eloquent symptom of popular feeling in Dalmatia.

It was an incontrovertible proof that neither the Dinaric Alps nor the Velebit were such a Chinese Wall as is sometimes suggested even to-day. And even if the dictum "Il n'y a plus de Pyrenées" was not true, yet it is most certain that the mountains which form the geological backbone of Dalmatia are neither sufficiently high nor sufficiently impervious to prevent ideas from circulating between the plain and the coast.

After a century of painful experience, the idea of such a half-way house on the path towards integral national union, has been drowned in a sea of blood. This idea, which Magyar and German alike recognized as bound to lead to Jugoslav Unity, was for a full half century the standard of an indomitable phalanx of Dalmatian Slavs educated in Italy; it was the "countersign between the sons of one mother," it was the "pole star" which, after bitter tension,

[1] Great-grandfather of the author.

gained by its spontaneous and irresistible force the practically unanimous support of the Dalmatian people.

The magic word sung by the Slovene poet Vodnik and partly realized by Napoleon—who may therefore be considered just as much one of the fathers of our movement as of the Italian—set the first timid fires burning.

Illyrism was the first attempt at the achievement of spiritual unity on the part of a race torn away from the traditions of its past. The movement was born in Croatia, between the Drave and the Save; it was the work of the Croats, whose leader, Ljudevit Gaj, was a native of the Zagorje, the Croatian Umbria, a land of wide-flung verdant hills, between oak-forests and vineyards, in the shadow of feudal castles.

Giuseppe Mazzini was not above taking an interest in it in 1857, and when the vengeance of German Centralism had already fallen upon the Croat and Serb lands and upon poor Dalmatia, Mazzini, in his *Lettere Slave* reminded the Italians of the memorable awakening, which he regarded not as spent, but merely as awaiting a more propitious time to break forth anew in action.[1]

And Mazzini was right in attributing such great importance to the movement of 1830. It was a real revolution.

By it the clouds were rent apart and for one fugitive moment the vision of the Nation awaiting the call of destiny was revealed. All Dalmatia roused herself

[1] These glorious pages by Mazzini on Ljudevit Gaj and the Illyrian movement are to be found in the Letter to a Friend (16th June, 1857), *Pagine di Vita* (Perugia, 1915); and Nathan, *Visioni d'avvenire* (Roma, 1915).

from the lethargy of those forty years which succeeded the fall of Venice, and looked toward the horizon. During the period which preceded the Illyrian movement (between 1815 and 1830)—the saddest and most inglorious of all that have passed over Dalmatia—Tommasèo[1] had taken refuge on the Italian shore; and this his departure from a Dalmatia which had even offered him "the tragedies of Alfieri played in Sebenico," was after all no more than a confession. Slav Dalmatia in her sleep seemed a worn-out land, without vitality and barren of promise.

A great oppression, a great void caused by the innate impossibility of a political wedlock with the other side, and the tarrying of the dawn above the towering hills—this shipwreck of an entire long period of history prevailed upon the brilliant youth to cross the Adriatic and go to Italy—where he found his lost native land again. And in the fervent love for his adopted mother he renewed the strength of his indomitable Slav temperament, aspirations and character.

Neither the moment nor the nature of this work permit me to sketch the exceedingly complex physiognomy of the great Dalmatian, the Fra Girolamo of the nineteenth century, whose intricate psychology can in any case only be analysed by a mind akin to his own in virtue of a Slav origin coupled with Italian culture. All Italian attempts to define the innermost nature of this extraordinary personality came to grief, and were bound to come to grief, because Tommasèo can be neither adequately understood nor appreciated without a profound and to all intents

[1] See biographical note on Tommasèo at the foot of Appendix I.

inborn intuition of the Slav world to which Tommasèo, in spite of all that may be said to the contrary, belongs with every inmost fibre of his soul.

An altruism imbued with a piety less humanitarian and more tragically passionate than that of Mazzini, recalling the *misereor super turbam* in its Slav interpretation by Tolstoi and Dostoievski, mysticism and sensuousness, ignorance of the highest art in—shall I say ?—architectural composition of thought, a bitterness tempered by infinite kindliness, an unconscious vanity, the spirit of contradiction, a faith unshaken by the local and parochial principle of historical communities, the infinite depths of Christian philosophic thought, overlaid by a thin veil of Pantheism —all these qualities and defects reveal in him at times the Dalmatian, but always the Slav. He delivers a fine series of sly thrusts at Cesare Cantù, and finally falls out with his great love, Dante, for having denied him the Italian nationality and fixed the frontiers of Italy at the Quarnero. He has a way of protesting, of stating and re-stating, now tenderly, now bitterly—as though he felt the weakness of his own arguments—that he is Italian.

Yes, and so he certainly is, but at the same time he is indubitably Slav. If you but touch a certain chord within him, which—although carried away by the warm Italian current—he never ceased to cherish in the shrine of his sturdily, completely and superhumanly honest heart, you will feel in the tone of his replies, of his apologies, the doubt lest he be not able to incarnate in all desired completeness, the spirit that hovers over the lagoon or above the Tuscan hills *and* the race that hearkened to him, faithful and frugal, on the arid Dalmatian shores;

and he breaks into confessions of patriotism, into cries of "our sweet language," "our poor people," into such an ideal and profoundly genuine appeal to the future of the land of his birth and the promise of his nationality, that no honest and trustworthy spectator is left in any doubt as to the inmost Slav nature of the great man, or the conflict which went on in his soul until his death. He presents a most singular, and perhaps an unique instance in modern history of a union of two worlds of ideas. At the same time he will always be a profoundly interesting demonstration of the metamorphosis which an obstinate will can impose upon human nature. But by that sense of constant anguish lest he should appear something different from the dream he cherished, Tommasèo reveals the defect in his triple armour and the incompleteness of his victory over atavism.

Tommasèo has in fact given far more to our people than to Italy, to whom he nevertheless gave so much.

The Slav scope of his insatiable activity has a wider reach than the scope of his Italian activity. And the distant consequences of this Slav activity have also proved more enduring than were his fears for beloved Venice, his educational and political counsels to Italy, his fundamental studies of the Italian language, the myriad forms and thoughts scattered throughout his works which afford perennial pasture in Italy to many minds falsely credited with originality.

The testimony which he in his rugged virtue bears to Slav vitality, to the Slav hopes of his native country, to the mission of the Serbian race, carries far more weight than all his defence of the land of

his adoption, for whom so many great ones have woven immortal garlands. Tommasèo was not a greater thinker than Gioberti or Rosmini, nor a greater writer than Mazzini or Manzoni, nor a greater poet than Leopardi or Foscolo; but his true greatness lies precisely in that unsurpassed fusion of the vibrations of two national souls, in his having written both the Preface to the *Letters of St. Catherine of Siena* and the *Iskrice*, the *Dante Commentary* and the analysis of the Illyrian songs, in having corresponded with Capponi and with the leaders of the Slav Renaissance, in having foretold with Mazzini—yet more strongly than Mazzini—the advent of a new world at the gates of Italy and of having prophesied, in detail, the alliance between two nationalities so diverse from one another who nevertheless are each so admirably the complement of the other; an alliance based upon this understanding and by this need of mutually complementing and respecting each other. And if the Italians honour in Tommasèo the great thinker and the brilliant writer, and more particularly the supreme originator of new forms and new and unexpected mental attitudes, the Southern Slavs from the Drave to the Adriatic see yet far more in him, viz. the greatest herald of their hopes and the most authoritative representative of their thought with the peoples of the Western world, under the auspices of an Italy ever unconscious of the profound significance of such mediation. Nor could this mission ever have been performed in all its completeness except by a man who, like Tommasèo, clung with every secret fibre of his being to the maternal bosom of Slav Dalmatia.

Tommasèo was one of the promoters of the Illyrian Idea. He was in close correspondence with its leaders, with Gaj, Kukuljević, Babukić and Stanko Vraz. To Gaj he wrote from Venice, on 31st October, 1841 :

"The charming expressions with which you refer to me, the interpreter of which our friend Popović kindly made himself, awakened in my heart the lively desire to see you and to join you with all my soul. It gives me great pleasure to take this occasion to express the respect I feel for you, for you, who are irradiating our nation with so much light and inflaming it with new fire. Continue, my dear sir, in that arduous path upon which you have already cast the seed of so many good things. We here are tied both hand and foot, but we follow you from afar with our eyes, and our prayers will accompany your steps."

Tommasèo had already in that year written the booklet entitled *Iskrice* (*Scintille*=sparks), which became in a way a book of prophecy for our people, a cycle of thirty-three prose poems, wholly imbued with the love for his Dalmatia and his people.

He wrote to Gaj—before his friend Kukuljević had published the little masterpiece in Zagreb—that he had wished to have had these little popular addresses, "penned in our sweet native speech,"[1] printed in Venice; but the Austrian censor would not permit him to do so. He therefore found himself obliged to forward them to Vienna whence they would be sent on to Zagreb, and he would give notice of their arrival to the great Croatian patriot.

Translating into action the word of Mazzini that "a people which has kept its memories, its hope and its faith sleeps the lion's sleep," Tommasèo

[1] Translated from the original Serbo-Croatian by Tommasèo. The letter appeared in the *Proceedings of the Jugoslav Academy in Zagreb* (1909).

urged the Dalmatian people with words of fire, of grief, of tragic but indomitable hope, to rouse itself from the sleep of centuries and to take its proper place once more in a sacred union with the sister provinces.

"My poor people, thou knowest not thy story; like a spurious child thou knowest neither the name, nor the deeds of the forefathers" (*Scintilla* xvii). "The nations that surround thee, my little Dalmatia, have nothing in common with thee; they are either much greater or much smaller than thou art; either sea or mountain or, even more than seas or mountains, customs and history rise between them and thee . . . begin a new era of love with thy sisters, a new life" (*Scintilla* xx). "My Dalmatia; thou art small among thy Jugoslav sisters; but a voice tells me that thou wilt not be the meanest nor the least beautiful among them; but thy songs will echo afar and soothe the slumbers of thy sons in their graves, who died believing in thee and shedding tears over the increase of the strangers. . . ." (*Scintilla* xxii). "Priests! we recommend to you our mother-tongue, subtle and full, strong and sweet; still young but with a vigorous and perennial youth. With it you will penetrate into the vitals of our people, and awaken every noble feeling within it . . . commending our children to your care, we pray you to rear them in the expectancy of noble things, in active love, in strong humility. . . ." (*Scintilla* xxxi). "Long ago the lion lost his luxuriant mane, his teeth and his claws . . . but what little was left of his claws was Illyrian strength . . . buried for centuries in ignorance, we still have our quick brain, our honest speech, our keen thoughts. Race both simple and dignified, peace-loving and passionate, thou showest forth thy spirit in bodily form, pure and graceful in strength, lithe in muscularity, with austere brows and gentle smile. Blush not, my people, for thine origin; only see to it that thy blood remains pure, and the contagion of city ways will not infect thee with debility, pain and shame" (*Scintilla* xxii).[1]

[1] The *Scintille* were written by Tommasèo in the purest Serbo-Croatian, and are one of the standard classics of our literature.

Words of fire which in themselves should suffice to pull down, like a house of cards, the edifice of lies built up by dried-up hearts and warped minds brought up in hatred of the National Idea in Dalmatia, which was represented to an ignorant public as being an Austrian (!) importation and not inborn in the Dalmatian people! Mazzini hit the mark. "The Slav aspirations"—wrote that great man—"are not an ephemeral ebullition provoked by transitory causes, but the natural result of ancient historical tradition." The whole Illyrian movement and the just quoted spontaneous manifestations of Tommaseo's mind form an eloquent comment upon these words.

After having written the *Iskrice*—this genuine product of the Slav Risorgimento—Tommaseo felt the need of coming into closer touch with the vague aspirations of his people. And here he shows the clear-headedness of his second, his Latin nature, by tracing with dazzling clearness the programme of a distant future in his poem "Alla Dalmazia" (probably written in 1845):

"Nè ben d'altrui nè tua ben fosti mai:
Patria viva non ha chi di te nacque.
. . . . .
Nè piu tra 'l monte e il mar, povero lembo
Di terra e poche ignude isole sparte,

He translated ten of the *Scintille* into Italian himself and published them in Venice in 1841. MS. translations of the rest probably also exist, but they have so far not been discovered. The first original Serbo-Croatian edition is that of Zagreb, 1844, and the most recent edition was also published in Zagreb, by the Croatian Literary Society, *Matica Hrvatska*, in 1888.

A first complete Italian translation of the *Scintille*, with a historical and critical introduction by the author of these pages, appeared in the collection *Opuscoli della Giovine Europa*, edited by Giorgio d'Acandia. Ed. Battiato, Catania, 1916.

O patria mia, sarai ; ma la rinata
Serbia (guerriera mano, e mite spirto)
E quanti campi, all' italo sorriso
Nati, impaluda l'ottoman letargo,
Teco una vita ed un voler faranno,
E darann' entrò alle tue vene stanche
Vigor novello. E tu, porgendo fida
La destra a Italia, ad Ellade la manca,
In sacre le unirai danze ed amplessi.
. . . . . .
Chè in te, seconda Italia, Iddio compose
Serbica stirpe, delle umane forme
E degli affetti le diverse tempre,
E mise in armonia gl'impeti e il senno :
Lingua ti diè di giovanili ardori,
Che in quante Europa suoni, orma maggiore
Tien delle forti età quand-era il mondo
Bambino al dubbio, e nell'amor gigante.
Soffri gli spregi e la miseria, e spera ;
O poveretta mia . . ." [1]

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[1] " No alien's possession wert thou, nor thine own :
A son of thine could boast no living fatherland.
. . . . . .
Henceforth no more betwixt the mountain and the sea
A barren limb of earth and bleak and scattered isles,
My country, shalt thou be ; but Serbia reborn
(She of the warrior hand and gentle spirit)
And lands untold, born i'th Italian smile,
Sunk in the slough of Ottoman despond,
Will form with thee one life, one single will,
And shall infuse into thy weary veins
Fresh vigour ; and thou, giving loyally
To Italy thy right hand, and thy left to Hellas,
Shall link them in sacred dances and embraces.
. . . . . .
For God hath formed within thee, second Italy,
O Serbian race, a great diversity
Of human form, emotion, temperament
And wrought in harmony the impulse and the mind :
Gave thee a speech of youthful hardihood,
Which, as it rings through Europe, bears afar

A diplomatic note despatched by the Court of St. James's to Metternich's Chancellery could not have expressed a political programme more lucidly.

Tommasèo's verses might be approximately rendered in prose as follows:

"Dalmatia is an arm half-severed from the living body of the Serbo-Croat race. Alien life, failing to harmonize with her inmost nature, painfully penetrates her, forcing its way in. She becomes Serbian, Turkish, Italian, French, but she never became the possession of the alien because she *could* not, however much her masters strove to deny her nationality; nor was she mistress of her own house, because she was subjected to so many dominations foreign to her blood. Yet her sons could boast no living fatherland. But Dalmatia will have a fatherland, she will see a brighter future. She will no longer be a derelict limb of earth, nor a few bleak isles, but Serbia reborn and all the lands at present bowed beneath the Turkish yoke—Bosnia, Herzegovnia, Old Serbia, Macedonia—lands born in civilization—whose highest expression is the 'Italian smile'—will one day form with Dalmatia 'one life, one single will,' that is to say, a National State.

"The sister provinces will infuse fresh vigour into her weary veins.

"Nevertheless, although united with her sisters, Dalmatia will preserve her own distinct individuality—herein Tommasèo is an autonomist, but such a one that all Slav patriots of 1916 can agree with him—and will become the intellectual and commercial intermediary between Italy (the West) and Greece (the East) and perhaps even compose the hatreds of the Magyars and Germans, who cherish hostile

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The ancient trace of stronger ages, when the world
Was but a babe in doubt, in love a giant.
Suffer contempt, and misery, and hope thou!
Poor little land! . . ."

sentiments towards the Slavs and towards Italian liberty, a mission confided not only to Dalmatia but to the whole Serbian race by the laws of history, by the eminent spiritual qualities of the race and by the 'speech of youthful hardihood,' where lie enshrined the traditions of stronger ages."

As for Dalmatia, the great patriot sees no solution for her troubles, no redemption from her hybrid history of a thousand years claimed by innumerable foreign dominations, except in a federal (cantonal) union with a great Serbia. The other branches of the nations will in their turn become absorbed in the great union.[1]

This, then, is the future of peace, of greatness,

[1] In 1851 the project was mooted in Zagreb that all Slav peoples should be given one language, which would obviously have been the Russian. Tommasèo, deeply interested in every manifestation of Serbo-Croat life, strenuously opposed the scheme. From Corfù he wrote the following significant words: "I appeal to the scholars of Zagreb, who for the last fifteen years have done so much to revive their native tongue, I appeal to them for the time being to limit this conception, too ample to render it realizable; *Let them look upon the Slavia of the South as a separate and already sufficiently great entity*; let them by unanimity of study first bestow greater unity upon their own language; let them purge not only their language, but their style from German dross and teach it to expound their thoughts with that ready frankness and graceful terseness which in the songs and speech of the people renders the Slav spirit so akin to the Greek and Italian; let them, instead of stretching their desires to remote unions, first unite the far too divided strata of their own society among themselves, and break down the inconvenient wall that stands between the scholars and the people, between masters and disciples."—*Secondo Esilio*, i. 161.

This project, if it was ever seriously entertained, fell to the ground, and was never mentioned again. But both Zagreb and Belgrade responded whole-heartedly to Tommasèo's fervent appeal. To-day the wall is broken down from the Drave to the Adriatic, and the "Dinaric Alps" will certainly not rise again!

of progress that Tommasèo demands—nay prophesies for Dalmatia. Tommasèo the poet never dreams. It is the principal defect of his poetry, but a defect that renders it most precious for us.

Tommasèo's poems are documents. They are snatches of politics, psychology, or religion which you find again in his prose, which is often pure poetry, just as his poetry is often simply rhythmic prose. So that from his works, as from the stones of a scattered mosaic, you may reconstruct in prose the entire programme of his poem " Alla Dalmazia." My readers must, however, permit me to reserve this demonstration—which, by the way, presents no difficulties—for another, more suitable occasion.

Throughout Dalmatia, but especially in Zara, the Illyrian movement found a strong echo. The municipality was almost entirely Slav. The then Mayor, Nakić, had—like an ensign—nailed a frankly Slav programme to the mast. In 1836 Petranović —with whom Tommasèo afterwards had an acrimonious polemic because the Serbian patriot unjustly reproached the great Dalmatian exile with forgetfulness of his duties as a Slav patriot—founded the first Slav review, the *Srpski Dalmatinski Almanah* in Zara. Kuzmanić published a second review, the *Zora Dalmatinska* (*Dalmatian Dawn*) also in Zara. In 1849 the first politico-literary society was founded in Zara, the *Slavjanska Lipa* (the *Slav Linden*), which had a membership of two hundred, and was suppressed in 1850 by the Austrian Government. It was Zara which in 1848 sent the reply to the Slav Congress of Prague, convoked in token of protest against the German Assembly in Frankfort, the very gathering which inspired Cavour

in a celebrated speech to utter his prophesy anent militant Pangermanism. In the reply of the citizens of Zara we find re-affirmed in the face of the attempts at hegemony contemplated in Germany, the inflexible will to live united with our Slav brothers under the constitutional rule of Austrian, not German sovereigns.

While regretting the fact that they are too late to send a delegate of their own to Prague, the signatories declare that they so far accept the decisions of the majority in the Assembly, and pray the latter to take all measures best calculated to ensure that the seventeen million Austrian Slavs may assert themselves and develop within the bosom of the Common State.[1]

Many of the signatories to the address seceded later on and joined the camp of those hostile to the realization of the Slav idea, but this notwithstanding, the fact of it remains, with its ultimate causes and its consequences—a striking proof of the spontaneous nature of the Slav movement and of the true sentiments of the capital of Dalmatia at this time of the great reshuffling of ideas, the result of the awakening of the nation under the lash of Tommasèo's words and those of the fathers of the Serbo-Croat Risorgimento. The Dalmatian academic youth in Padua helped to fan the sacred fire.

Before going into further details, however, may we be permitted a general observation, rendered

[1] This address was signed by the flower of Zara's citizens, by Count Giovanni Pavlović, Count Francesco Borelli, Count Cosimo Begna-Possedaria, Dr. Filippi, Demetrio Medović, the Hon. Domenico Lantana, Dr. Manzin, Dr. Cesare de Pellegrini, Sigismondo de Grazio, Count Deda Mitrović, etc.

necessary by a most dangerous theory which has been advanced quite recently, a theory which is tending to engender a painful feeling of uncertainty into the most honest and dispassionate minds.

A national movement is always an organic movement. It is the florescence of a complex entity which slowly and in accordance with the more or less favourable conditions of its surroundings, both within and without, arrives at a state of consciousness of itself and of its organic functions. To assert that an isolated phenomenon, however powerful, or even one directly foreign to the spirit of a nation, could produce a great national movement is no less ingenuous than to assert (as was done fifty years ago and perhaps is done even to-day in certain religious camps) that the sale of indulgences for the building of St. Peter's was the reason for the Reformation, or that the order given by Louis XVI to the French deputies to vacate the Salle des Deliberations at Versailles was the cause of the Revolution.

The Dalmatian movement, with the Croatian and the Serbian, are three movements, distinct as regards time, but manifestation of one sole national organism —they are not isolated phenomena in space. They are perfectly spontaneous and organic phenomena, the outcome of multiplex natural causes, and they are connected with a vast national movement all around, which exercised a profound influence upon our own, in virtue of the identical causes that generated it; just as in like manner the more specifically Serbian awakening strongly influenced the Greek, the Bulgarian and even the Roumanian Renaissance. Any one refusing to take into account this sociological fact would commit himself to eternal

ignorance concerning the origins and development of a European factor, which has nevertheless been important enough to hasten the outbreak of the present monstrous European conflagration—or he would at least incur the suspicion of bad faith.

The Czech, Magyar and Polish nations—to confine ourselves to Eastern Europe—have undergone identical transformations—domination by a foreign element, national awakening—movement for union. A person, for instance, who having known Prague in 1830 and revisited it in 1900, might, if we are to believe the Czech historians, easily believe that—apart from the buildings—he had seen two different cities belonging to two completely different countries. Much importance is attached in these days to architecture as an indication of nationality. But all that marvellous architecture which renders Prague one of the most beautiful mediaeval cities of the world, is not Slav architecture.

Yet who would dare to ask the Czechs to renounce their national individuality for the sake of the builders of their marvellous bridges, churches and palaces? For the sake of the German element which reigned supreme in the civilization and language of the country until the awakening initiated by Kolar and Palacky?

Moreover, that brilliant Czech movement, concerning which a book recently appeared in Italy,[1] admittedly exercised a powerful influence upon the Croatian and Dalmatian movement. Gaj and the whole of the Illyrian movement proceeded—apart from the compelling spiritual need of the

[1] G. Stuparić, *La Nazione Czeca, Collez. la Giovane Europa.* Ed. Battiato, Catania, 1914.

national soul—from the fruitful contact with the contemporary Czech movement and the truly national, but very soon anti-Liberal Magyar movement. Similarly, since the end of the eighteenth century, the Poles have influenced our literature, and the poet and prose writer Ignazio Giorgi, who of all the Dalmatian poets stands nearest to us modern writers, was directly inspired by the Polish poet, Kohanovski, to whom Mickiewicz devotes an eloquent chapter.

The Dalmatian awakening was in its turn the outcome of the Croato-Illyrian movement and also directly of the Czech. All these elements of intellectual rebirth in the surrounding countries—more particularly the Slav—engrafted themselves upon the indigenous stock of language and national song which attests the homogeneity of the great geographic and ethnic Serbo-Croato-Dalmatian current. They were the elements that fathered our own Revival. Let no one despise the Czechs, the Croats and the Dalmatians, for being late in winning through to the full consciousness of their national individuality.

Late arrivals upon the European stage, they found older civilizations already established, the Greek in the Eastern part of the Balkan Peninsula, the Latin and its Italian offshoot in the west and upon the shores of the Adriatic, and the German in the north. They were strongly influenced by them. So much so that for a time it seemed as if they must inevitably be swallowed up in this *mare magnum*, which was indeed the fate that befell the Elbe Slavs.

But the greater number resisted successfully, and although they assimilated many elements of the older civilizations, they ended by practically emancipating themselves. The last to do this was that

fraction of our people in Dalmatia which, dwelling by the sea, was more exposed to the lure of Italian culture, to which our Tommasèo succumbed entirely and on principle. It is not the least of the glories of the Italians of Italy that they were able to understand at the time of the Risorgimento the nature and the upward path of our rebirth—unlike a certain handful of sons of Dalmatia who were only too like those peasant youths who, having donned Parisian dress, deny the coif and apron of their mothers. Surely this is a great fact, redounding more to Italy's glory than any territorial conquest.

Tommasèo had sounded the reveille in the camp of the younger generation. His immortal *Iskrice* were read by everybody in manuscript in Dalmatia and in Padua long before they were published. They said :—

" Young men, ye who go forth to strange lands to seek the science that your own cannot give you, be ye the hope and joy and not the grief and danger of your native land. Be ever mindful of it, *preserve its virile native speech.* And then learn also this other, and let neither exclude the other from your hearts ; let there be neither war nor yet a chasm in your thoughts. Neither a government nor a soul divided against itself can live. *Be Illyrians, and you will be all the more susceptible to the Italian spirit.* You are better than many among those who look upon you as the off-scourings of the nations. Defend, I pray you, everywhere defend the honour of your country ; be firm of purpose, frank and sincere in your speech, be strong at times, more often gentle, and always loving. Love truth better than gold, your brothers more than life. Consider the customs of other peoples and respect them without blindly following or blindly insulting them." [1]

[1] This *Iskrice* was translated by Tommasèo himself in his volume *Scintille.* It is the twenty-fourth in the Zagreb edition. Cf. N. Tommasèo, *Scintille,* p. 76. Ed. Catania, 1916.

The youth of Dalmatia absolutely fulfilled the hopes placed upon it by the Great Dalmatian. Vastly different from Tommasèo's contemporaries —see his *Memorie Poetiche,* in which there is as yet no trace of Slavism—the Dalmatian students in Padua were stimulated by the great example of the land of Giotto and Dante into clinging yet more lovingly to their Slav Mother "absent yet present."

One of the leaders of this younger generation was Count Orsato Pozza, a patrician of Ragusa, the last descendant of a very ancient Slav house, originally of Cattaro, and inscribed ever since the eleventh century among the nobility of the rising Republic. Let my readers not be misled by the Italian form of the name. The Pozza were natives of the Serbian interior and originally called themselves Počić, or Boćinić. These forms of their name they employed as Rectors or Senators of the Republic of Ragusa, in the letters addressed to the Serbian princes (see Miklošić, *Monumenta Serbica*). In the thirteenth century the Počić held high offices at the courts of the Serbian Emperors. The Italian form of the name, Pozza, with its Latin translation Puteis, dates from the Renaissance. This phenomenon was commonly met with all over Europe, but especially on the Adriatic coast, where contact with the Latin world was most lively. The Italianization of the name notwithstanding, the House of Pozza was up to the time of its extinction (in 1908) representative of the truest Slav sentiment, and devoted its best efforts to the energetic propaganda of that national principle which the Pozza rightly considered a vital matter for the people of Dalmatia.

An elder brother, Nicolò, and a cousin Raffaele

played conspicuous parts in the political life of Dalmatia.

The former, a man of high principle and exceptional culture, held, as Slav Deputy, the office of First Vice-President of the Dalmatian Diet (at the time when the Italian Autonomist party was in the majority), and pleaded the cause of the Dalmato-Croatian union before the Emperor. The younger brother, Orsato, was a born poet, the last great Ragusan poet, the spiritual son of the Gundulić and Gjorgić. He spent a great part of his life in Italy, was at one time Chamberlain to the son of the Duke of Parma (1844–1848), and tutor to Prince Milan of Serbia (1869–1872) after the assassination of Prince Michael; and both as politician and author he bequeathed lasting fame to the Serbo-Croat nation. While at Lucca he wrote his Italian poems (*Talijanke*, 1844), and in Ravenna, beside Dante's tomb, he composed his sonnets, which earned the high praise of Tommasèo. In these he questions the poet upon the future of the Slav peoples (1848), and hails him as the inspirer of our Awakening. It was also in Lucca that he composed his poem "Karadjurdjevka" (1848–1849), in which he celebrates the glorious exploits of Karageorge and proclaims the advent of National Union under the star of Serbia. He formed a close and faithful friendship with Professor de Rubertis, a native of the Slav colony in Italy, who published an Italian version of Pozza's poems and devoted himself to spreading a knowledge of Serbian poetry and Serbian aspirations in Italy.

The journey to Italy of Ian Kolar, the father of the Czech Resurrection, greatly influenced our

academic youth in Padua. It is safe to say that the meeting of Kolar with the Ragusan Pozza and Felice Schiavone of Zara (a descendant of Andrea), in Venice in 1841, was an historic event for Dalmatia. The young Ragusan was filled with enthusiasm by this personal meeting with the great Slav patriot. And from Padua he wrote, when forwarding a few of his Serbian poems to Kolar (24th December, 1841) :

" I do not aspire to poetic laurels, but I believe that the literary education of a people is a powerful means for bringing it to that glorious condition which renders it worthy of liberty. And this is the motive that prompts me to forward you a few of my poems for publication in your Slav periodical."

And the Ragusan noble signed his name as " Orsato Počić, Illyro-Slav of Ragusa."

Besides Pozza, Kolar also became acquainted in Venice with Spiridion Dimitrović, a Slavo-Dalmatian of Cattaro, with Antonio Kaznačić of Ragusa and Felice Schiavone of Zara, who said to Kolar :

" I do not know the Slav language very well, but it gives me profound satisfaction to see the re-awakening of the Slavs and of their language.

" By diligently reading Slav books I am endeavouring to make good the gaps in my education, which are the work of fate. I do not only feel that I am of Slav origin, but I am proud of belonging to the heroic Slavo-Dalmatian stock."

Kolar mentions in his *Italian Journey* that every year some fifty Slavs (Illyrians, Czechs and Poles) frequented the University of Padua. He encouraged the students to found a Slav library and a Slav reading-room. Several Fiuman Slavs in Padua conceived the idea of founding a Slav reading-room in their native town.

A Fiuman student in Padua, Joseph Zavrsnik, was the author of a Serbo-Croatian grammar.

The Dalmatian and Slav students in Padua and Venice took a lively interest in the literary movement in Zagreb. They contributed to the journal *Danica Ilirska* (the Illyrian *Morning Star*), praised by Mazzini and Tommasèo, and created a centre of Slav social life on Italian soil.

For Easter Day in 1843, the Slav colony in Venice organized a great national ball, and proposed that the national "Kolo" should on this occasion be danced by no less than fifty couples. Jovan Kukuljević and Petar Preradović, the celebrated poet, with Spiridion Dimitrović, travelled to Venice and encouraged their kinsmen to cultivate their native language and literature. A Slav lady from Trieste, Sofia Rušnov, wrote in Kolar's album: "My pen cannot express my joy at having met the poet of 'Slavy Dcery,' the teacher of Slav Solidarity."

In 1843 Pozza became Slav correspondent in Padua to the *Danica Ilirska*. From MSS. which he looked up in the Patriarchal Seminary of Venice he derived patriotic arguments and studies, all tending to the renown of the Slav race.

In a letter to Kukuljević he gave full rein to his feelings as a Ragusan and as a Dalmatian:

"It is the duty of every patriot on foreign soil"—he wrote from Padua—"to make diligent researches concerning his nation and to publish them.

"You have set us a splendid example in your travels, and now I am trying to follow in your footsteps.

"I have lived for many years in Italy in the pursuit of study, and I cannot describe my joy when in visiting in Venice the stupendous monuments of this compendious

city, those palaces, those churches, those academies and libraries, I came with every step upon memories of our forefathers—the Riva dei Schiavoni, the Glagolitic Church of St. George, the Calle and Ponte dei Ragusei, the canvases by Andrea Schiavone, etc. But it is not this which prompts me to write to you.

"The public is not interested in the impression which I bear away in my soul, nor have I the intention of writing on these lines. The fruit of my pilgrimage is something far more important, it is the discovery of this Serbian MS."

In a letter from Padua, dated 3rd August, 1843, Pozza writes:

"We Dalmatians and Ragusans, far from our own country, thrown here into Italy like a colony, being desirous of a little comfort and encouragement for our patriotic souls, await with supreme anxiety any good news from our mother-country, and our hearts beat, at one moment with joy and in the next with trepidation, because of the messages which reach us from the other side. Thus we have with intense and general rejoicings acclaimed the news that Mr. Kuzmanić intends to found a Slav paper in Dalmatia, and we cried with one accord: 'Behold, Slavism has acquired a new partner, and our frontier march has taken the path to glory!'"

Pozza signed this letter "In the name of the Jugoslav youth of the University of Padua."

Under the heading "Some Dalmatians in Padua," a proclamation was likewise issued at this time, inviting the Dalmatians to adopt the new Latin spelling as proposed by the Croats of Zagreb.

"We have had many enemies, many sorrows! To-day it seems that all that is finished! Let us bury our civil dissensions; union alone can save and regenerate us. . . . Wherefore we beg the editor of the *Zora Dalmatinska* and his collaborators to pave the way towards national union by the adoption of the Croatian spelling. We tender our loving thanks to our brothers of Croatia for their ceaseless

labours for brotherly union. Our brothers ascribe to us the honour of having laid the foundations of the national edifice; we gladly recognize that it was they who were the first builders. The foundations were the glory of our forefathers; the building is the glory of our brothers!"

In another article written in 1844, Pozza wrote:

"We desire our literature to be independent of all others; that it should be truly national, that it should be as far removed from Walter Scott, Victor Hugo and Byron as from Virgil, Milton and Tasso; we desire that even as the Slav race possesses special character and features, so should its literature possess special character and features. On this foundation we propose to rear a temple to the Slav Vilas."

In his preface to the poems *Tudjinke* (*Songs of an Exile*), published in Zagreb in 1849, Pozza writes that he wrote this whole collection of poems in Italy between 1846 and 1848, in the gilded halls of the Prince of Lucca, amid luxuriously spread tables, horse-races, the sound of cymbals and the sparkle of champagne and "I hope"—he writes—"that even as I, amid all these splendours did not forget my people, so they will also not forget me. If Slavia remembers her greatness, we shall meet again, if not, farewell, my country, and for ever!" Pozza translated many of Leopardi's verses into Serbian. In the patriotic grief of the sage of Recanati he beheld his own, and the apostrophe to Italy—

"A che pugna in quei campi
L'itala gioventude? O numi, o numi
Pugnan per altra terra itali acciari—"[1]

[1] "Why do upon these fields
Fight Italy's young men? Ye gods, ye gods!
For other lands fights the Italian steel—"

renewed more poignantly his own grief in beholding the Croat and Slovene battalions fighting in Italy in a cause foreign to the national one.[1] In several of his writings Pozza advocated the foundation of a Slav Chair in Italy, "so that the latter should become more fully acquainted with the spirit of her neighbours beyond the Isonzo and the Adriatic." G. De Rubertis remarks in his monograph on Pozza, that a similar proposal was made by a deputy in the Cisalpine Parliament, and that the poet Prati supported it. In vain! The writer of these pages took up the idea again in 1896 and 1899, and forwarded a memorandum on the subject to The Hon. Bacelli through Signor Macola, but Italy refused to recognize what France had understood perfectly already in the 'thirties.[2]

This was in its main outlines—as far as the object of this work is concerned and (owing to the present isolation of my country) the sources at my disposal permit me to go into it—the contribution of our Paduan youth, to the national movement prior to the 'sixties.'

[1] In the Triestine journal *La Favilla*, edited by Francesco dall' Ongaro, Orsato Pozza and Antonio Kaznačić fought the first journalistic battles. In 1842 they published six articles: (1) History of the Slavs; (2) The Slav Alphabet; (3) History and Poetry; (4) A Serbian National Ballad; (5) National Ballads; (6) The Kraljodvorski MS. In 1843: National Proverbs, Ethnography and statistics of the Slav population in 1842. On this celebrated paper *see* Angelo Vivante, *Irredentismo Adriatico*. Firenze, 1912.

[2] In 1848 Tommasèo, then Minister for Public Instruction of the Venetian Republic, decreed the establishment of a Chair of Serbian in Venice, convinced that this was in Italy's interest. The holder nominated by him was Vincenzo Marinelli. Later on he said with bitter irony: "The Slav languages, which have their professors in Germany and France, will not have any in Italy for centuries to come."—*Dizionario Estetico*, ii. 406.

Young Dalmatia had obeyed Tommasèo's command: "*Be Illyrians.*"

The war waged in 1848 by the Croats and Serbs against the invading tide of Magyarism organized and headed by the Slovak renegade Kossuth, was the consummation of Illyrism, written in blood.

We are far from desiring to recapitulate, except in its main points, the history of this renowned Slavo-Turanic conflict, which Erdödi, Ban of Croatia, invested with a bold legality by the Latin motto: *Regnum Regno non præscribit leges.* I will merely confine myself to stating that the Zagreb and Padua movements, and the appeals ringing throughout the territory from the Drave and Danube to the Adriatic could not result in aught but blood, whereby alone nations are welded in one; first in Zagreb itself, when in 1845 a popular riot was stifled in blood by the unpopular Ban Haller; and then upon the fields of Hungary and beneath the walls of Vienna, after Ban Jelačić had crossed the Drave with his Croats to dispel the Turanic dream of a Hungary from henceforth divorced from the world of civilization and drifting towards an abyss of race hatred and hegemony of the Asiatic type.

Agonized and bewildered amid the universal despotism in Europe, Croatian national sentiment, exasperated by the incipient Magyar tyranny, had rallied round the throne of Habsburg. There was no other way out. The historical inevitableness of it is more than obvious. For one last time the Empire exploited for its own ends the mediaeval principle proclaimed by Dante. In turning to the Emperor the people believed it was turning to a protector, and going to find a peaceful haven for its

national aspirations. For one last time the Empire was looked up to as an impartial arbitrator, as a cloak like the cloaks of the Madonnas of Siena and Florence, which envelop the devotees of both sexes, who thus worship together beneath a veil embroidered with golden stars. The struggle against the Magyars affords an excellent lesson even for the present day. It teaches that true Liberalism does not exist where the obliteration of a nation, the thraldom of a people, an attack upon the principle of nationality, that fulcrum of all life, the foundation and *raison d'être* of all liberty, are being contemplated.

What interest had the Croats, the Serbs and the Roumanians in the struggle of "liberal" Hungary against the "despotism of the House of Austria," when liberal Hungary cynically proposed to attack, and effectively did attack the national soul of the peoples which had entrusted themselves to her as partners and confederates and not as slaves and lands for colonization? With a correct appreciation of the elements of the life and progress of a people, Croatia took the lead in a movement which we meet with again, under a different and more decisive form in 1868 and 1914. The cry that went up from Jelačić's battalions was "Nationality first, our mother-tongue first, the soul of the people first, and afterwards liberty which, to be lasting and genuine, cannot grow except from a national trunk, enforced, not granted!" And that Croatia had taken the right road is proved by the fraternal action of the other disjointed parts of the nation, all of which followed her lead against Hungarian tyranny.

Slavonia, Syrmium and the Serbs in Hungary revolted. Dalmatia was all a-quiver with war-

like excitement. A few members of the Ragusan patriciate, moved by hatred of Austria (who had occupied Ragusa by treachery in 1814) and inspired by the immortal principles of '89, of which they believed the Hungarians to be the champions, joined the ranks of Kossuth's fighters; but the Dalmatian people hailed with indescribable joy the appointment of Jelačić as Ban of Dalmatia. Many Dalmatian volunteers enrolled themselves under the Serbo-Croat banners and a whole literature in prose and verse sprang up from Zara to Cattaro predicting the triumph of the bold Croat leader. Prince Alexander Karageorgević, father of the present King Petar, Serbia's ruler after the expulsion of Miloš Obrenović, sent Jelačić the pick of his officers. Prince Peter II of Montenegro—one of the greatest of the Serbian poets—wrote to Jelačić, offering his own arm and his Montenegrins for the war of liberation and urging the Ban to place himself at the head of a Jugoslavia and have done for ever with the Magyars.

Finally, encouragement came from Bosnia, gagged and sucked dry by the insatiable Pashas of Constantinople. Young Bosnians crossed the Save by night to join their Croat and Serb brothers for the supreme defence of the language and the race. Such were the years of the '48 and '49, the logical consummation of the Illyrian movement, the first ray of union between the brothers of the one mother Jugoslavia, a union symbolized by the solemn investiture of the Catholic Ban Jelačić in Zagreb by the hand of the Serbo-Orthodox Patriarch Rajačić.

Italy, disunited and in great part still the slave of the Austrian over-lord, witnessed this revolt in arms of the Slav people as a friend, and understood

the Illyrian movement and gave it all her attention in spite of the pains of her own tragic birth-throes.

She understood what to-day the united and resurrected Italy of 1916 has difficulty in understanding. To-day she even stands amazed at a movement which appears to her to have arisen within the ill-defined borders of a little-known and treacherous land. As though the present movement were something new, artificial, without precedent—a dark conspiracy doomed to disappear into the limbo of fantastic creations with the Kingdoms of Etruria and Westphalia! But the Italians of those days understood, and Mamiani wrote to Minghetti that if the Sardinian Government were to send envoys to Croatia "to establish good relations of neighbourliness and friendship," Pius IX would furnish the personage dispatched on such a mission by Charles Albert with credentials.[1]

Tommasèo swayed before the hurricane. Between his anti-Austrian and liberal instinct and his all-pervading sense of justice and the love he bore the Slav world emerged at last from the shadows and set upon the road to a greater future, he halted, and at one moment took the part of the Croats and in another that of those who had inscribed upon their shields the great lie of a war against Austria coupled with the oppression of the peoples in their own house. "Truly"—he wrote in 1850—"the Magyars have for a long time been incredibly tyrannical to the Croats.[2] Although I realize the errors of the Hungarians, it grieves me to see the Slavs out of revenge (sic!) turning themselves into slave-drivers

[1] Tommasèo, ii. p. 665, No. 2.
[2] *Secondo Estilio*, i. p. 66.

for Austria; and I fairly predict that they will receive no mercy from Austria." [1]

But in his famous memorandum addressed in 1854 to Mr. Ward, British Commissioner for the Ionian Isles, he inveighs with prophetic insight against Hungarian hypocrisy, identical with that of to-day.

"The Magyars could in '48 have won a great triumph and great honour for themselves and great advantage for the Slavs, had they divested themselves of the old tyrannical pride and hatred which make them hated by the Slavs, by promising the latter respect for their language and the institutions of civil equality.

"It is safe to maintain that Hungary by herself cannot have the importance which she loves to ascribe to herself." [2]

But the exceptionally clear mind of the Count of Cavour understood the Slav movement of '48 far better. Uncontaminated by the fumes of Germanism or the doctrines which at that juncture began to be propagated from Frankfort; disdainful of the gospel of prey under the cloak of liberalism, with the smile of the well-balanced mind of a Latin and a Liberal, he spoke at a sitting of the Cisalpine Parliament on 20th October, 1848, upon the Slav movement and more especially upon the Croato-Hungarian War. More than ever in these days it should be remembered to the undying honour of Italy's genius that, still smarting from the wounds resulting from unequal yoking, she moved serene and free in the loftiest spheres of political speculations, without ever losing her hold upon the *terra firma* of profound reality.

[1] *Secondo Esilio*, p. 64. [2] Ibid, pp. 303-304.

"There dwells," said Cavour, "in the lands of the Empire a numerous race, energetic and intrepid, but oppressed for many centuries—the Slav race. This race is spread throughout the eastern part of the Empire, from the shores of the Danube to the mountains of Bosnia; it desires to obtain its full emancipation, to win back its nationality. Its cause is just and noble. It is being championed by masses as yet rude, but full of hardihood and energy; thence it is fated to triumph in the distant future.

"The great Slav movement has inspired the premier poet of the century, Adam Mieczkiewicz, and by this fact alone we are led to place full faith in the future of these peoples. Because we are taught by history that when Providence inspires men of the sublime genius of a Homer, Dante, Shakespeare or Mieczkiewicz, it is a proof that the peoples in whose midst they arose are called to a high destiny.

"Be that as it may, shortly after the triumph of the liberal cause in Vienna the Slav movement began to manifest itself openly in the Empire. The most intelligent branch of the Slav family, the inhabitants of Bohemia, have tried since April to shake off the German supremacy, and to found a centre in Prague around which all Slavism might rally and come in touch.

"This generous enterprise failed. All parties in Vienna united to repress the movement in Bohemia. The unhappy city of Prague attempted an appeal to force; but it was beaten after a desperate resistance, bombarded and raked with machine-guns. It was placed under martial law, which was in full force only a few days ago.

"The Slav movement, crushed by brute force in the north of the Empire, has developed more vigorously, more menacingly, more powerfully in the south, in the Danubian provinces inhabited by the Slavo-Croats.

"I will not here go into the causes or the pretexts that have provoked the Croatian rising against Hungary. I am not going to delve into the details of the great conflict raging between the Magyars and the Slavs. I will only remind the Chamber that the Magyars, so noble and generous when it was a case of defending the rights of their own nation against Imperial tyranny, have always shown themselves haughty

tyrannical and overbearing towards the Slav race scattered throughout the provinces of Hungary."

"VALERIO. That is not correct!"

"CAVOUR. Yes, gentlemen, no one can deny that in Hungary the aristocracy belongs to the Magyar race, and the people to the Slav, and that in that kingdom, the aristocracy has always oppressed the people."

"Be that as it may, I do not intend to make an *apologia* for the Croats (laughter), and still less for their intrepid leader, Ban Jelačić. *I will confine myself to stating that the standard they have raised is the Slav standard, and not at all, as others suppose, the standard of reaction and despotism.*

"Jelačić has availed himself of the name of the Emperor, and in this he has shown himself a prudent politician. But this does not prove that his principle, and indeed his only aim, is not the restoration of the Slav nationality. And what, in effect, is the Imperial power? An empty semblance behind which the parties which divide the Empire shelter themselves in turn. Jelačić, seeing the Emperor at variance with the Viennese, declared himself for the Central Power, but certainly not for the reconstruction of the Gothic edifice which was overthrown by the March revolution.

"In order to prove that Jelačić is not a mere military reactionary it suffices to remark that upon his approaching Vienna, the Slav deputies, notably those from Bohemia, who represent the enlightened element in the Slav world, quitted the Assembly with the intention of withdrawing to Prague or Bruenn to form a Slav Parliament there.

"I therefore believe that the conflict which is now raging in the heart of Austria is not so much a political struggle like that in March, but rather the prelude to a terrific race war, to the war between the German world and the Slav." [1]

"*Surprising, wonderful*"—as an English hand wrote upon the margin of another speech by Cavour,

[1] From the speech made at the meeting of 20th October, 1848, in connection with the debate upon the policy of the Minister Pinelli and the opportunity for declaring war upon Austria.—*Discorsi parlamentari del Co. C. di Cavour*, vol. i. Racc. e pubbl. per ordine della Camera de Deputati, Torino, Eredi Botta, 1893.

as we are told by the Hon. Ruffini,[1] and indeed this is the only adequate comment upon thoughts as these! To the Italy of the Risorgimento therefore belongs the glory of having intuitively realized the events which are maturing to-day from the Baltic to the Ægean. After Machiavelli, after Guicciardini, after G. B. Vico, after all the host of the great Venetian diplomatists, Benso di Cavour —speaking in the middle of the nineteenth century and in the heyday of Absolutism—interpreted yet once again the broad and intuitive political ideal of the ancient Latin race, ere its wings were clipped and its horizon narrowed by the methods and ideas of German philosophers and parvenus.

The war of 1848 did not realize the hopes that many had placed upon it. But the essential motive of the war, the parent thought which paradoxically caused the Slavs to appear the champions of Autocracy, and the Hungarian oppressors as the paladins of liberty, did not perish in the tide of Absolutism, which succeeded the great national upheaval. And in this speech of Cavour's it is necessary to sift out the essential meaning whereby in being true for 1848, it cannot fail to be true also for 1916. Perhaps if the Autocrat Russia of Nicholas I had not helped to put down the Revolution, the Habsburg Monarchy would have risen above the crisis, and an era of despotism would not have fallen equally upon those who fought for a fictitious liberty and those who struggled for man's greatest possession, his mother-tongue. Be that as it may, let no one judge the reaction of 1850 by the standard of the present day, nor blame the Croats and their Slav brothers

[1] *L'insegnamento di Cavour*, p. 96. Milano, Flli. Treves, 1916.

for having contributed, even though indirectly, to a recrudescence of Absolutism. To judge historical facts by consequences which the authors of the facts could not foresee at the time, or foreseeing could not have hindered, is equally unworthy of the mind of an historian and the standard of a true politician. In the same way we might reproach the nations for remaining thralls to the Holy Alliance after Waterloo and Leipzig! And moreover it is not true that after the failure of the war of '48 the seed sown by Jelačić failed to bear fruit in the Croatian and Dalmatian constitutional struggles of 1860, just as it is not true to say that the cause of Italian unity did not reap great advantages from the disaster of Novara.

Tommasèo, who could not accustom himself to the idea of help lent by the Croats to the perpetrators of the reaction, somewhat regained his equanimity in later years, on the eve of the great war of 1859. The great Dalmatian boldly entered the lists on the side of the Croats, and in a memorandum dictated in Corfu, which the Italians of to-day would do well to consider, he claimed for Croatia a considerable share in the national Jugoslav awakening. What is more, against Magyar and Austrian *rights*, he pits the ancient national *rights* of Croatia.[1]

As one of the greatest prophets of Illyrism and a Dalmatian, Tommasèo owed this vindication of the Jugoslav movement both to himself and to his life work. And not even the (sometimes) irate polemics of 1861–1862 were able to shake, let alone eradicate the profound race instinct which dictated it.

[1] See the memorandum in Appendix I.

CHAPTER III

Absolutist regime in Austria and in Dalmatia—Dawn of Constitutionalism (1880)—Two parties in Dalmatia—Unionists and Autonomists—Electoral oligarchy of the Italian party—Tribute paid by all parties to the Slav character of Dalmatia—*The Dalmatian Year Book*—Declaration of the Dalmatian Autonomist party on the Slav character of Dalmatia—Bajamonti and his programme—His statements concerning the Slav character of Dalmatia (1864)—National movement in Zara—Foundation of *Il Nazionale* and *Il Dalmata*—Slav programme of the Autonomist paper *Il Dalmata* (1866)—Slav tribute to Italian civilization in Dalmatia—The pamphlet *A Vote for the Union*—Programme of the Slav Unionist paper *Il Nazionale*.

ALL these fair hopes of a resurrection which would rival the Risorgimento, whose destiny was working itself out between the Alps and the sea, were smothered beneath the funeral pall of the black and yellow banner.

In the meantime, in Austria, Absolutism pure and simple was preceded by a Central Constitution imposed by *octroy* (Imperial decree) by Francis Joseph upon his peoples in the thick of the Hungarian Revolution (4th March, 1849). But even this Constitution already represented merely Autocracy in disguise, by subjecting the historic individualities of the countries grouped around the House of Habsburg to the despotic will of the Central Power. A Parliament existed, to be sure, and

provincial Diets; but these assemblies were nothing but a screen to mask an iron Centralism of the German type. The *Erb-monarchie*—the accentuation of the hereditary principle plainly showed how much in the way of rights was to be conceded to the peoples!—was in fact held in trust by a Central Viennese Ministry, to which the Ban of Croatia was likewise responsible. By this Constitution the lands inhabited by the Serbs of Hungary and Croatia were formed into the *Serbian Vojvodina*, and the title arising from this (wrongly confused nowadays with Serbia) was borne by the Emperor of Austria. Croatia and Slavonia, severed from Hungary, were to continue to be administered according to the laws of the land, but in the capacity of provinces (Kronländer) of the Austrian Empire. As for Dalmatia, the fact of its belonging to the two provinces of Croatia and Slavonia was expressly recognized in the new Constitution (Article 73). Nevertheless, the effective realization of the union was made dependent upon a preliminary agreement between the Dalmatian delegates and those of Croatia-Slavonia. Thus even Austrian Centralism bowed to the irresistible and eloquent force of ethnic currents.

This Constitution of 1849, which in spite of its centralist spirit, foreshadowed after a fashion an evolution of Austria in the direction of a federalism *sui generis*—or, at least, of a grouping of the peoples without any interference on the part of Magyar particularism—probably appealed to Francis Joseph, because he hoped that the peoples would never demand full autonomy. In the meantime the Croats were not at all satisfied. It needed nothing less

than all the authority which Jelačić could bring to bear, to induce them to accept an "imposed" Constitution, which by a stroke of the pen abolished the right of the Croato-Serb people to dispose of itself as it had done at Cetingrad in 1527, although even then coerced by historic circumstances and surroundings.

Jelačić felt himself overwhelmed and both physically and morally weakened. He already foresaw the uselessness of his sacrifices, and before his intimate friends he showed signs of failing. The Jugoslav mission had been too strong for him. He could not make up his mind to break with a House whose mediation he had invoked in the national struggle with the Magyars.

At this juncture Ban Jelačić received a letter from one of the leaders of the Croato-Illyrian movement, Ivan Kukuljević, whom we know already from the days of the Illyrians and his friendly relations with Tommasèo. This letter reflects—like limpid water—all that subconscious striving for union which, in spite of appearances, was going on irresistibly in the soul of the Jugoslav people.

"If I did not know your patriotic and profoundly Slav soul —wrote the Croatian patriot to the Ban (9th August, 1849), I should not venture frankly to submit to you a faithful picture of the present disposition of Croatian people. I can assure you, that never since I have worked in the domain of literature and politics have I seen so much grief and dissatisfaction in our people. It is not of the ignorant mass of the people that I want to speak. Fanaticism, enthusiasm or blindness can always incline the latter first to one side, then to the other. I am thinking rather of our men, both young and old who, from the earliest days of our national movement, in every crisis of our political life, have directed,

instructed, consoled and inspired our popular masses. The imposition by decree of a new Constitution has profoundly dissatisfied the nation. Our people, which has in bygone centuries become used to discussing every law concerning its political life and its future in the bosom of its own national Assembly, now sees the destruction of its ancient liberty, for which it had spent a vast treasure of physical, material and moral energy. If our nation accepts to-day, by an illegal course, a law or rescript promulgated in its interest and for its good, who will guarantee that it will not be compelled to-morrow to accept a law pernicious and fatal to its existence ?

" But when we begin to examine this Constitution in its details we perceive that it is founded on principles foreign to the Slav nature, and that it is animated by the breath of Germanism. Moreover it suppresses the whole of our historic and political past. It forbids us for ever all striving towards our great Slavo-Oriental ideals. If we were to accept the principles of the Constitution imposed upon us, we should open our doors to the German thrust, to a foreign influence, to the oppression of our nation. We should cause the political abdication of our *Sabor*.[1] We should thereby renounce the ancient dignity of the *Ban*, which we have always looked upon as a vice-regal dignity. We should renounce all legitimate influence in Bosnia and Serbia, the idea of union with our Slav brothers in the Military Frontiers, in Dalmatia, Istria, Carniola, etc., who have sought union with us only because they saw in it their strength and their happiness. Under the future Lieutenant-Governor (*Statthalter*), under a Diet stripped of its privileges, under the powerful influence of the foreign spirit, all liberty is necessarily bound to perish, all national aspirations must fade away. The thread that bound us to the past would be violently cut, and an insurmountable obstacle would arise upon the road down which, energetically, free and nationally, we had set out towards the future. Such are the painful thoughts of our patriots." [2]

[1] Diet.

[2] It will be noted that in this letter, which was inspired by the most profound instincts of the race, not the slightest allusion is made to any kind of dynastic loyalism, to any connection of Croatia with the " Erb-monarchie," and still less to a precedence of the interests of the Austrian State Community before the primary

The gloomy prognostications of the Croat politician were only too soon and too completely justified by events. The Hungarian Revolution (i.e. the attempt to set up Turanian Centralism) was quelled, to be replaced by German Centralism. The Constitution was abolished. Unqualified despotism imposed itself upon the lands of the Habsburg Monarchy. Darkness lay heavy upon the minds of men and upon events.

From Italy the watcher on the Alps looked "for the appearance of a friendly standard"; but in Dalmatia hope and expectation were alike dead. Alas, beyond the mountains that same iron centralism and an all-powerful German officialdom was replacing the German signs at the street corners of Zagreb. In Bosnia, the silence of death. Russia was beaten by the Western Powers for the benefit of Austria and Prussia. The only Slav society in Zara, the "Matica Dalmatinska" was suppressed, and a second eclipse of the national idea lasting from 1850 to 1860 paved the way for the savage recovery of those bureaucratic elements which dishonoured the language of Mazzini and Gioberti to the detriment of the liberal principles of the future Slav Constitutional party.

Italian, which was employed in speech and writing

conditions of life and development for the Jugoslav nation. This fundamental trait of the Croat and Jugoslav historic and national outlook dominates the entire modern history of our race. All recantations and defections, all loyalist declarations of certain political groups, or rather of certain castes superposed upon the national structure, will not be able to detract from the profound significance of a steady and continuous thought that has moved onward throughout the centuries, and which we see condensed in this letter to which we would draw the attention of all sceptics and unbelievers.

by all parties alike, became the natural vehicle of the Slav thought in these fresh struggles. So much so that a bureaucracy of Lombardo-Venetian type set about the defence of its privileged position in the language of liberty, and the Slav ranks, filled with the Italian revolutionary gospel, moved to the attack in the same tongue.

The two rivals for the soul of Dalmatia stood thus in 1866, the fateful year in which Victor Emmanuel assumed the glorious crown of Italy, and the arch-cynic Francis Joseph granted the Constitution to his people with the same sovereign indifference with which he had crushed the risings of '48 and presented the Slavs—in recompense for their support—with the Bach Statutes.

None of my readers will expect me to recapitulate the history of those memorable parliamentary battles between the party for Dalmatian autonomy (Autonomists) and the National party, which stood for the union of Dalmatia with the sister provinces. This will be done in another place and in due time.

Here I will limit myself to a most rapid survey of a struggle which was ennobled by the genius and high character of many eminent sons of Dalmatia in each of the opposing camps, and at times dishonoured by the employment of weapons borrowed from the arsenal of the common foe.

On the one side, a local municipal policy, the ideal of an uneventful existence of a Dalmatia gently lulled in an anachronistic Venetianism, and urged to spend her days towed in the wake of the great ship Austria in accordance with the Treaty of Campo Formio. In the opposite camp, Unionism, on whose banner appeared Mazzini's motto: "You

cannot build upon a negation"; a party which desired the rebirth of Dalmatia, with all her ancient rights, in a greater Jugoslav unit, more in keeping with her aspirations and advantage.

On the one side we find ranged beside the idealistic supporters of Dalmatian autonomy the riff-raff of Austrian officialdom, whom an autonomous Dalmatia (i.e. a Dalmatia with the civil status of an Austrian province pure and simple), an oligarchy of salaried officials, would have suited down to the ground. In the other camp, the party of Progress and Nationalism, in which burghers and aristocrats, clericals and liberals, rallied to give battle to the Austrian bureaucratic idea in the name of the National Principle, to claim for the mass of the people the right to breathe more freely and to dispose of its own destiny.

Between these two principles of State omnipotence and the national principle, the *status quo* and the Revolution, fate so willed it that Niccolò Tommasèo broke sundry lances in the cause of his ideal—the ideal of municipal autonomy *cum* federation—and that the great Dalmatian thus unwittingly furnished the bureaucratic party with weapons against the National (Jugoslav) party, whereas in reality he was with all his soul and all his anti-sectarian mind fighting invisibly in the ranks of the party of Unity.

Cruel irony of history! The author of the *Iskrice* quoted by those who would inaugurate a bitter campaign against the very tongue in which the *Iskrice* were penned, the language set on high by the great Dalmatian like a beacon upon the crest of the hill, or rather like some intangible divinity!

Unless, perhaps, we are to find posthumous conso-

lation in that struggle, which ended with the triumph of the national will demonstrated in a long series of crushing electoral victories.

A triumph curtailed in its practical application by the Austrian enemy, who was already on the road to his present suicide, but a triumph inasmuch as on the eve of the world struggle, Dalmatia had, as a whole (with the exception of a very few isolated centres), entered, spiritually and for good, into the bosom of the great Slav union. The consolation to which we refer consists in this, that in virtue of that law of nature which we formulated just now, there has been throughout Dalmatia since the beginning of the great struggle, not as between Italians and Slavs, but as between Autonomists and Unionists, a plebiscite unanimously in favour of the Slav character of the province. So that only by a deliberate falsification of history it is possible to make the assertion (which is demolished by facts) that the struggle has hitherto been in the nature of a defensive struggle on the part of an Italian and directly indigenous element against a propaganda among a denationalized populace, unconscious of its Slav individuality, the blind instrument of the treacherous wiles of Vienna.

As a matter of fact, the Dalmatian people, i.e. the great agricultural majority in the country, had not even been consulted in the opening stages of the fight.

The 15,672 Dalmatians which figured in the statistics of 1860 (compiled in the heyday of the Italianizing days of Austrian bureaucracy) as "habitually speaking Italian" were represented in the Dalmatian Diet of 1861 by *twenty-six deputies*, while

the 140,000 " of Slav speech "—to quote the cynical expression of a Dalmatian exile—were only represented by *fifteen deputies.* Thence the marvel was this: that the twenty-six deputies representing an infinitesimal minority among the Dalmatian people should vie with the fifteen representatives of the overwhelming majority in asserting the Slav character of Dalmatia! For this was the doctrine of party formerly called the Autonomist and now the Italian ever since 1876.

The *Annuario Dalmatico* (Dalmatian Year-book), edited by N. Tommasèo, Giuseppe Ferrari-Cupilli, and other eminent representatives of the Dalmatian educated classes of both parties, wrote in 1861:

" There is not, and cannot be, any nationality in Dalmatia beside the Slav, or properly speaking, the Serbo-Croat. Some Dalmatians mistakenly consider themselves Italian; they are not Italians except as regards their culture. . . . We do not owe everything to Italy, only much.

" Civilization is a great possession which we give up only with our lives. To demand of the cultured Dalmatians that they should give up the treasure of Italian civilization garnered during the course of so many centuries and throw it into the bottom of their sea would be madness, in so far as it was not wickedness.

" Rather should this treasure be ever increased, only put to a different use. . . . While still preserving its own individual originality a nation may certainly, without taking harm, absorb all that may help to develop and perfect its individuality. Carniola, Croatia and even modern Serbia are destined to assimilate Germanic elements into our personality; to assimilate the Latin is part of Dalmatia's destiny. And to that end she must be Slav in everything and for everything.

" It was not the Greeks who in becoming romanized, engrafted certain elements of their own civilization upon the Latin people, but the Romans themselves, by adopting

these elements, it is true, while nevertheless still remaining Romans. Even so the Dalmatians, simply by being and keeping themselves Slav in mind and soul, will be able to fulfil the noblest mission imposed upon them by nature. . . . It is only natural that the powerful attraction of an advanced civilization should have dazzled the eyes and fascinated the virgin minds of many Dalmatians and carried away their hearts in a quiver of irresistible sympathy; but this gives us no right to believe that they, forgetful of their brothers solely because they were poor and uncultured, desired to betray the latter.

"The idea of Italianizing Dalmatia, even though owing to circumstances it at one time had partisans, cannot have any to-day, at the present time. Such an idea would no longer be foolishness, but a crime!"

These plain words were followed by others plainer still. A general pæan was raised to the Slav character of the province, called upon at last and for the first time in her history of a thousand years, to attest before civilized Europe her faith and civilized status. Even the opposers of any kind of alteration in the *status quo* were not less energetic or less explicit in proclaiming that the political question of Dalmatia's fate in the future order of the Habsburg Monarchy neither could nor ought in any way to involve a question prejudicial to the ethnical character of the country, a character which would have to remain outside of and above all contention.

In his opening speech of the session of 1863 (12th January) Cav. Petrović, the President of the Diet,[1] made the following declaration:

"The Slavo-Dalmatian language, gentlemen, so-called by the decision of the Diet, which is almost identical with the

[1] The Emperor used to appoint the Presidents of the Diets of the Kingdoms and Crown-lands represented in the Reichsrat from

literary language of the Serbs and the Croats, has too well-assured a future to stand in need of being diffused by violent measures. Nothing can help it better in its progress than the dissemination of useful books which will render, in this language, the ideas of European civilization.

"The Italian language in Dalmatia is a beneficent guest, and ought not to be ejected like an importunate parasite."

But this very President had been even more explicit in the session of 1861—the first under the Constitutional era—when a violent commotion arose in the Diet because Deputy Pavlinović dared to speak in Slav. The President found himself obliged to intervene and call the Majority to order with these words:

"Gentlemen Deputies, it would be folly to contend that from the Dinaric Alps to the remotest of our islands, our country and its inhabitants are anything but Slav." [1]

We will not stop to consider the declarations made by Count Francesco Borelli in the Vienna Parliament (the Austrian Reichsrat), in which, although refusing to endorse the programme of the National party, he nevertheless demanded the union of Dalmatia with its sister provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina,

among the Majority, and the Vice-Presidents from the Minority. Until 1870, as we shall see, the Majority in the Dalmatian Diet was Autonomist. Cav. Petrović was an advocate of Zara, an Italianist Orthodox Serb, highly respected for his impartiality by all factions in the Assembly.

[1] It is only just to remark that the commotion evoked in the Majority was not shared by the Liberal deputies, such as Dr. Filippi and Bajamonti, but was started from the benches where sat the Austrian officials who stood for an Autonomist programme, against whom Bajamonti found himself obliged to wage a struggle as honourable as it was—unhappily—fruitless, on account of his defection from the Liberal camp in 1886.

which were then still groaning under the Turkish yoke.[1]

For the rest, all sensible people in Italy have always looked upon the fates of Dalmatia and Bosnia as being indissolubly linked. Let us merely quote Baron Sonnino—the late Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs—who, commenting in the *Rassegna Settimanale*, edited by him in Florence, upon the Magyaro-German opposition to the conquest of Bosnia-Herzegovina, remarked in 1878 (vol. i. No. 6, p. 86) that the Viennese Government, by having renounced the conquest of Bosnia-Herzegovina, had sacrificed "the interests of its Dalmatian provinces, whose commerce is languishing in consequence of their being cut off from the land which ought to be the natural source of supply for their trade."

Unfortunately, Austria effected the annexation at much later date, *in odium Slavorum*, and with the intention of governing the Jugoslav lands separately, inciting them one against the other and exploiting the animosities of centuries between them, while the Southern Slavs had hoped by the annexation of the former Turkish provinces to hasten their unification and emancipation from Germano-Magyar tutelage. It was this tragical divergency of purpose which caused the Serbo-Austrian conflict to enter upon an acute stage, and indeed it was certainly the ultimate cause of the present war.

Nor will we linger over that other declaration

[1] Already before him, Tommasèo had indicated the union of Dalmatia with Bosnia-Herzegovina as its natural hinterland as "the national and economic consolidation of the Dalmatian coast" —a union which in his opinion as in that of all Serbo-Croats, would have constituted a stage on the way towards the consummation of complete unification.

made by Mr. Serragli in the sitting of 28th March, 1863, when he proposed that the Serbo-Croatian language should be called "our language," in contrast to the Italian, nor will we more than refer to the statements by Governor Mamula, the ally and protector of the Autonomist party, who declared in his opening speech on 28th September, 1864: "Dalmatia is a Slav land, and to doubt it is foolishness." We will rather devote a little more time to two other irrefragable testimonies which no casuistry and no rhetorical artifice can dispose of or minimize in their spontaneous and profound significance.

Quite recently we have heard quoted the testimony of Bajamonti, the famous mayor, or rather autocrat, of Spalato from 1860 to 1882, one of the most notable men of last century in Dalmatian memory. May we be permitted simply to quote Bajamonti's testimony in favour of our brief summary. Bajamonti is a man who to-day, more than a generation after his downfall and death, cannot fail to arouse a feeling of sympathetic respect in every noble mind, susceptible to the voice of justice and liberty, and that in spite of the mistakes and undeniable weaknesses of his life. What we have just said will not be cavilled at as posthumous adulation on the part of one who is the son of the most stubborn and most chivalrous of his adversaries, whose house was often the target of the cobble-stones and shot-guns of the mob of Spalato, provoked by obscure firebrands whom Bajamonti, although mayor of the city, could not, we will not say would not, restrain.

A complex and singular nature, Bajamonti stands out dramatically against the background of Dalmatian

and Spalatan history. Gifted with unusual qualities, brilliant, generous, eloquent, highly cultured, honest, enterprising and accessible to the point of temerity to every modern trend, sensitive to every indication of public opinion, Bajamonti was an outstanding personality, who cannot be quoted by the Autonomist-Italian party as their representative man. In the first phase of his striking career he not only stood for the sole idea of liberalism and tolerance, but for Autonomy independent of Austrian officialdom. This idea might with the active support of the principal Slav leaders have developed into that broader Nationalism which Tommasèo foresaw, into a perfect understanding between Italian and Slav culture, between the rights of the people and respect for a venerable tradition.

Bajamonti grasped all this intuitively, but it was grasped equally by the enemies of an Italo-Slav understanding. The latter, led by the sinister Lapenna, Imperial and Royal official, savagely attacked him, and ended by capturing him for the barren idea of an Italian-Austrian Autonomy.

Bajamonti was the regenerator of Spalato, the man who did more for the illustrious little city than any man since Diocletian. He had a fervent faith in the future of Spalato. He put up the first large modern building, introduced gas, founded the Dalmatian Association for the erection of notable buildings, reconstructed the harbour of Spalato and built the dykes. He opened up many of the slums, laid out new streets, built a magnificent theatre (burnt down in 1886)—which rivalled the Fenice of Venice. He restored churches and conceived the grandiose idea, which he put into execution

towards the end of his administration, of restoring the aqueduct of Diocletian. Upon this enterprise rested his great popularity with the upper classes of the city, while the populace absolutely worshipped him. The common people of Spalato, who are purely Slav (Croat) and cannot speak Italian at all, called him "father" (Čača), and many families asked him to stand godfather to their children or to act as guardian or trustee for their interests.

A man of this stamp ought naturally to have been drawn to the young and vigorous Slav National party, with whom he had in common his Liberal principles and an invincible aversion to Austrian officialdom.

This union did indeed take place, but it was of short duration. And this was a serious misfortune for Dalmatia, which suffered greatly by this breach between Bajamonti and the National party. There were many causes for this division.

First the guileful machinations of the Autonomist Government party which, taking advantage of Bajamonti's financial mistakes, dragged him into its orbit; then the temperamental incompatibility of Bajamonti and some of the National leaders, and principally the ascendancy gained in the Slav party by the clericalism of Pavlinović, and the too one-sided and radical insistence of the purely Croat element as against the Serbo-Croat Unionist tendencies (on the basis of a wise decentralization) of the Liberal section of the party. But the breach, as we have already said, did not take place until later, and Bajamonti's career began with a furious struggle between the Mayor of Spalato, supported

by the Nationalists, and the Majority of the fiercely Austrian, Anti-Slav and Centralist Autonomists.

In the epoch-making sitting of 5th April, 1864, Bajamonti made the most explicit declaration with regard to the Slav character of this country. The eternal language question was under discussion. Klaić, the recognized leader of the Slav National Minority, opened the discussion with the following fiery words:

"Let us call ourselves," he said, "what we please; we shall never cease to be what we are—one people, one family. Let us call ourselves 'Autonomists,' 'Annexationists,' 'Nationalists'—we are all of us Dalmatians and consequently Slavs. The conflict that divides us is not a difference of race, or of culture; it is not a national conflict, but simply a conflict of language. Not only are we not hostile to the language and culture of Italy, but we realize that we owe a great deal of our own progress to this language and to this culture. But precisely because we were educated in Italian culture, we ought not to deny our origin, nor become enemies of our own nation. Italian civilization is before all things a national civilization, and in effecting the complete nationalization of her people, Dalmatia will show herself worthy of her preceptress. Our native land is small, but by its position, by its traditions, by the types of civilization represented in it, it is called upon to exercise great influence upon the intellectual progress of the neighbouring Slav peoples, our brothers. Ours is the task to steer it towards the destiny reserved by Providence, by ceasing from fratricidal conflict, by all uniting for a common action."

Bajamonti replied:

"Our opposition against a union with Croatia is not opposition to our language, or our nationality. Our programme is: 'Slavs to-morrow, Croats never!' For us the question of annexation and that of nationality are two distinct questions. Over the first we shall never agree, at least not until

the (Near) Eastern Question assumes greater importance. Over the second question, we must and shall agree. For the rest, the solution of the Annexationist question does not depend upon us. If the supreme interests of the State demand that we should become Croats, then Croats we shall be; if on the other hand it suits the Government to leave us what we are—Slavs—Dalmatians, then such we shall remain. . . . Our present task, I repeat, consists in the union of all the Liberal forces in this Chamber, in the formation of a Liberal party within the country, a party which shall put the question of liberty before all other questions and energetically oppose the detrimental forces of the ruling party, and show that it is not we Liberals who are the enemies of His Majesty's Government, but rather those public officials who contaminate every noble institution and the generous intentions with which they are entrusted by the Government on behalf of the public weal, and injure our welfare in order to build up their private fortunes upon its ruins" (applause).

Bajamonti concluded this memorable speech by the following declaration:

"The time has come for us to say boldly: apart from the annexation, the programme of the annexationists is our own programme as well" (lively applause).

Klaić replied:

"The annexation has always been for us before all things a question of nationality, because we look upon it as a legitimate means of safeguarding and strengthening the latter; We have always considered the political question as secondary, and so we consider it also to-day. . . . If, however, the Hon. Bajamonti, in declaring himself a Slav deputy, declares that, apart from the annexation, he shares our programme, then I hail these words with joy, nor do I perceive any discrepancy of opinion between us. His programme is ours. Without diffidence, and without distrust, let us labour together to improve the fate of our people, and prepare it for loftier aims" (frantic applause).[1]

[1] Shorthand report of the Session of the Diet in 1864.

Replying to a question by Dr. Filippi as to " How Croatia could be useful to our nationality ? " the Hon. Pavlinović said that if the Hon. Member (Dr. Filippi) knew that our nationality is safeguarded there, and that beyond the Velebit our language is the official, scholastic and judicial language, he would understand what he at present appears to ignore.

This patriotic debate, which promised a peaceful and harmonious development of Dalmatia after her chequered and bloodstained history, provoked violent irritation in Vienna. The Dalmatians dared to speak of concord and Slavism ? They would have to be put in their place. And in consequence of an incident between the Government Commissioners and Mr. Giljanović, a leader of the Slav Liberal Autonomists, the Diet was dissolved two days later (on April 7th) by Imperial Decree. And this was the end of the debates on suggestions for the language problem, on the Budget of 1865, on the proposal to separate the civil administration from the military in Dalmatia, etc. The official organ of the Empire justified the dissolution of the Diet by accusations of angry debates, and " violent attacks upon the Government."

That very day saw the foundation in Zara of the " Unione Liberale," which was joined by both Nationalists and Autonomists, i.e. by the entire Unionist party, as well as the Liberal wing of the Italian Autonomists, now called the Italian party. By way of specially pointing out his solidarity with the purely Slav party, Bajamonti put his name down in 1861 as one of the original members of the Serbo-Croatian literary society " Matica Dalmatinska."

Until 1866, the paper *Il Nazionale*, which appeared in Zara, was edited in Italian, and had acquired considerable fame by the courageous and honourable press campaign waged by its first editor, Sperato Nodilo,[1] served as party organ for both the purely Slav party (as I will call it) and the Liberal section of the Autonomists.

But in 1866 the latter party judged it opportune to found its own paper, and thus appeared *Il Dalmata*, which to-day represents the so-called Italian party, while *Il Nazionale*, transformed into the *Narodni List* (and edited exclusively in Serbo-Croatian), represented the interests of the Serbo-Croat Party, i.e. of the Majority in the Dalmatian Diet.[2]

However, in that year, the year which by the entry of the Italian troops in Venice saw the realization of Tommasèo's dream, *Il Dalmata* considered it necessary to pay a tribute to the national sentiment of Dalmatia, by publishing in its first issue (10th March, 1866) a programme, politically anti-Unionist, but from the national standpoint frankly Slav.

"Slavs not only by race," thus runs the programme, of what is now the *magnum organum* of "Italianity" in Dalmatia—"but also in heart and feeling, we are the first to proclaim the legitimacy of the ties of kinship which link us with the other kinsmen of our race. These kinsmen number more than sixty million; and if they do not all call themselves Dalmatians, they are nevertheless all children of the one great mother. Proud of the sturdy fecundity of the

[1] The notable historian, born in Spalato in 1830. From 1874 to his death in 1912, Professor of Universal History at the University of Zagreb.

[2] Of 41 deputies, 35 are Serbo-Croats, as against 6 so-called Italians.

ancient stock from which we sprang, we are the first to maintain that the genealogical tree of our nation should not confine its roots to the land between the shores of the Adriatic and the foot of the Velebit. These roots extend beyond the barren mountains by which Dalmatia is surrounded, and ramify far towards the north and east. . . .

"We repeat that no one is more conscious of the principle of nationality than we are; and if the welfare of the country does not render our union with the Croats inadvisable, we shall be only most eager to demand it. . . ."

The six-centenary festival of Dante's birth had been celebrated in Dalmatia in the month of May of that year, before the foundation of the paper *Il Dalmata*. In the absence of Count Pozza, who had gone to Florence to represent the literary societies of Croatia, Abbé Dević, acting as official speaker in Spalato, boldly said on this occasion:

"Yes, we Dalmatians, although sons of another nation, know how to value the renown of the father of that literature, from which we have received the principles of our civilization and to which we are consummately grateful. Ah, may these principles help us in our present efforts for intellectual progress through our own resources, our own language.

"The development of the Slav nationality by Italian civilization—this definition sums up every Dalmatian programme, apart from all political theories."

In 1874 Arturo Colautti, writing in the paper *l'Avvenire*, hinted at an Italian nationality in Dalmatia as distinct from the Slav. Yet only two years earlier (in 1872) Colautti, then editor of *Il Dalmata*, had adhered to the bi-lingual literary character of the Autonomist paper. His new attitude provoked the opposition of the Autonomist circles of Zara, who considered themselves bound to take up a firm stand. Already in 1871, Simeone

Ferrari-Cupilli and Enrico Matković had had the memorable Slav programme of 1866 reprinted on the front page of the Autonomist paper.

In 1885 Colautti crossed the Adriatic and Signor Lapenna, leader of the Autonomist party, wrote on the eve of the elections for the Diet:

"This party has been universally called the Italian party, it has been maligned in Dalmatia and accused of being hostile to the development of the Slav language and culture. . . . To distinguish an Italian national or political party in Dalmatia, in opposition to the National Slav party, is a grave mistake, in so far as it is not misleading."

Thus and thus highly did this older generation respect the soul of the Dalmatian people, which is to-day represented by croakers as being a rabble without name and without truth, "of Slav speech," "unconscious of its own nationality."

It is almost superfluous to add that these declarations by Italian-speaking Slavs regarding the Slav character of our renowned province were warmly echoed by the Slav-speaking Dalmatians, who did not omit to pay a frank tribute of admiration to Italian culture, the benefactress, not the tyrant, of the Slav spirit. We have already quoted Klaić. Let us not forget the statement by the most radical of the Slav politicians, Mr. Pavlinović, who declared in the sitting of 30th March, 1864:

"I think no one will deny the love I bear my native tongue, but for all that it does not occur to me to be hostile to the Italian language which—next my own—I love above all others, as do all my countrymen."

But the warmest tribute to Italian culture was paid by Count Constantine Vojnović in his pamphlet

Un Voto per l'Unione, published in Spalato in 1861, and honoured by an exhaustive reply from Tommasèo.[1]

This young deputy, whose great influence on the political and social life of Dalmatia was cut short in 1874 by his appointment as Professor of Civil Law at the University of Zagreb, devoted some of his finest pages to Italy and her mission in Dalmatia.

"To desire," he wrote, "that a purely Slav character should prevail on our shores as in Mostar and Sarajevo, would be to want the impossible; to do violence to nature; to attempt to cancel by the stroke of a pen the history of four centuries. Whether we wish it or not, Dalmatia will pass under the economic and intellectual influence of Italy, especially when the latter shall once more become a great industrial, commercial and seafaring nation, and when the El Dorado of the East will have opened its portals to the eager desire of the West. A wiser policy would suggest that this influence should be employed not to the detriment, but to the advantage of the land which is destined to be the interpreter and intermediary between Jugoslavia and Italy.[2]

"But this cannot alter the fact that Dalmatia will remain Slav. Nor could she render an equally signal service to Italy or to herself by ceasing to be so. Certainly, wherever the Italian element and culture flourish, they must both be respected and cherished, while being made to work hand in hand with the development and growth of our native civilization. Dalmatia's mission, no less than that of Italy, lies in the nature of things, and is indicated in two important epochs of her history, viz. in the days of Rome and those under the Venetian domination. In the days of Augustus, Rome by the omnipotence of her arms and her civilization made her the bridge—as we have said before—between the

[1] Cf. "La Questione Dalmatica riguardata ne' suoi nuovi aspetti. Osservazioni all' opuscolo di Costantino Voinovich." In the volume *Il Serio nel Faceto*, pp. 348–428. Le Monnier, 1868.

[2] It should be remembered that this was written in 1861, and to-day, in 1916, we are faced by the whole problem as defined in those very terms.

West and East. Venice succeeded in finding and guarding the road that leads to Constantinople. In either case this object was attained by *conquest*.

"The Eastern crisis and Italy's growing power are bound to reopen the question of the East, and Dalmatia will again feel its influence, and for a third time take up her civilizatory mission. Only in conformity with the changed spirit of the times the policy of *conquest* will be abandoned, and its place taken by the peaceful influence of commerce and civilization. Whoever would put a different complexion upon the future, even more than the present relations between Dalmatia and Italy, is not worthy of bearing the name of Dalmatian, and would be repudiated by the noblest section of the very nation he was intending to serve. Tommaseo, when recently discussing the question with which we are dealing, rendered a great service to our country. Fond though he is of Italy—and he is one of her fairest and purest glories, and ours as well—he declared that Dalmatia could not become Italian without loss of her own dignity and—we must add—without sacrificing her future. Whoever would deny Dalmatia her Slav nationality, would be mistaken if he hoped to find sympathy and applause on the shores of the Arno or the Dora. The great and generous Italy of Alighieri, Alfieri, Foscolo and Niccolini, of Manzoni and Massimo d'Azeglio, will hold that what is sacred on the banks of the Sebeto is equally sacred on the banks of the Tizio,[1] and she who knows something about it will most unmistakably send about their business those who would apply two standards when it is a case of determining our rights and those of others, disciples not so much of *Italian Civilization* as of the *Civiltà Cattolica*.[2] Whoever has not learnt from Italian history and literature to love his own nation, has learnt nothing, and is unworthy of Italy and of Slavdom."

After indicating Italy's new mission of civilization

[1] The Sebeto, an Italian river—the Tizio (Titius), generally called the *Krka*, a river north of Sebenico.

[2] An illusion to the Jesuit review *La Civiltà Cattolica*, at that time representing the reactionary spirit in politics.

among the Slavs of Dalmatia and the Southern Slavs in general, Count Vojnović proceeds:

"It does not follow, however, that it would not be less dangerous for Dalmatia to wage an ungrateful and reprehensible war upon Italian culture to suppress it, than to render it prevalent and preponderant, thereby making it an obstacle, or rather an element hostile to the national development of the country. This latter course, we repeat, would inevitably lead to the crushing of the Italian spirit here. We have shown [1] that owing to the irresistible pressure of facts, Italian culture has for four centuries and a half taken up its stand on this perilous descent. It has invaded the schools, the administration, the law courts, the church, the theatre—in short, our whole civil and social life. It has led Dalmatia astray from her national vocation and made intellectual progress, such as it has been—scanty and futile—the monopoly of the Italian-speaking section of the community. This state of affairs must be gradually abated, unless we wish to provoke within a very short time a reaction against everything Italian, no less fierce than the reaction in Italy against the French influence towards the end of the seventeenth century, which found its most terrible and exaggerated expression in the 'Misogallo' of Alfieri. We are witnessing only too many of the premonitory symptoms already. And that is why we implore all those who sincerely love Italy, this *alma parens* of all civilized peoples, not to let it happen that her name may one day sound hateful to our nationality, but that she may be blessed and respected by Slavdom as she has been by the nations of the Latin race, whose spiritual and literary resurrection she has furthered! . . . In other respects the love which Dalmatians bear Italy and her culture will only be limited by the rule which a sage of ancient Greece recommended: *Usque ad altaria*, i.e. only by what we owe to the altar of our own conscience and our duty."

And Vojnović formulated the future Italo-Slav relations in Dalmatia as follows:

[1] In the first part of the lecture.

"Italian speech and culture should be held in trust for Dalmatia like a valuable investment and a sacred right, but they must be restricted within the limits of the national *Slav* vocation of the country. The union of Dalmatia with Croatia, which will give a strong and decided impulse to the native element, will necessarily impose such limits upon Italian culture, while rendering it fruitful for the cause of civilized progress in Dalmatia." [1]

All these intensely practical ideas, which were evolved in Padua, and edited in Dalmatia, were subsequently crystallized in the programme, published by the official organ of the Slav party, *Il Nazionale* (1st March, 1862). From this programme we will quote the following clear and concise statement:

"The Slav element among us, bound together by the indissoluble ties of language, common origin and territorial continuity, which are the characteristic outward signs of a nationality, forms the overwhelming majority of the Dalmatian people. Let it be granted full enjoyment of the political right of association, of free speech and Press, and what force could then thwart the development of the Slav element in the country? . . . We shall respect the Italian-speaking minority of from 15,000 to 20,000 souls; their rights shall be sacred to us, and would be so even if they were still fewer in number; for this reason, that we reverence liberty and trust them also. We only ask that special privileges, no matter whose, shall cease. The Dalmatian Slavs, whose title to nobility lies in their unmixed Indo-European origin, whence all the great civilized nations are derived, strong in the support of their brothers beyond the mountains, speaking one of the most morphologically perfect languages in Europe, have an indisputable right to free national development. Can a population of 400,000 souls permit its beautiful language to remain for ever ostracized? Grateful to Italian civilization which has educated us, and more affectionately devoted

[1] *Un voto per l'Unione*, pp. 45–50.

to our foster-mother than is believed of us, we are willing under these conditions to extend our hand to the opposite party, in order to hasten the material and intellectual progress of our people whose sons we all are."

We must now provide the reply to two questions of capital importance, for otherwise this study would be incomplete.

How did the Autonomist party translate its protests of patriotic love into action, and how did it contrive to turn itself from a Slav into an Italian party? What did Bajamonti mean by his celebrated formula: "Slavs to-morrow, Croats never"; and how did the breach with the Autonomist-Italian party over the question of National unity originate and widen?

I must say at once that the Dalmatians themselves took care to reply to these questions in a clear and unequivocal manner, in spite of every conspiracy against the national soul. And in so far *lis judicata est.*

For the last forty-five years the overwhelming majority of the representatives of the Dalmatian people have been Slav (Serbo-Croats) in language, sentiment and aspirations. An irresistible current has seized upon men and events, in spite of tyranny, shortcomings, mistakes, opportunism and all the faults of omission and commission, which were sometimes dictated by the cast-iron necessity of saving the most precious possession of all, the national individuality, from the attacks of a State which always dealt treacherously with its peoples.

From 1870 to 1912, during the term of eight Governments, the will of the people was conclusively manifested in the elections. Of the forty-one

deputies which constituted the Diet of the kingdom, thirty-five were Slavs.

To understand the full significance of this fact, which no one can henceforth modify or explain away by force or fraud to their own advantage, it must be borne in mind that in Dalmatia the elections for the Provincial Diet are still carried out under the antiquated class system of electoral law. By this system sundry privileged electoral units (most highly taxed citizens, peasant communes, boroughs, chambers of commerce), representing a narrow circle of interests and certain political cliques, are rendered equal to the great mass of the people—to the obvious detriment of the representation of genuine popular sentiment. This alone explains the presence of even six Italian deputies in the Dalmatian Diet. The proof of our assertion is furnished by the lesson of the elections for the Central Parliament in Vienna (the Reichsrat), to which Dalmatia sends eleven deputies, elected on the basis of universal suffrage. Not one of these eleven deputies belongs to the Italian party, and all, without exception, belong to the Slav (Serbo-Croat) population of the country.[1] Acting as the mouthpiece of practically the whole Dalmatian people, these, its representatives, voted a Memorial to the Crown (3rd September, 1870), in which they solemnly demanded the union of Dalmatia with the sister provinces of Croatia and Slavonia as a first great step towards national union. And from 1870 onwards, in spite of the machination of the Autonomist Minority and the strenuous opposition of the Austrian Government, the representatives of the Dalmatian people have on countless

[1] See Appendix II.

occasions reasserted in face of the Crown the wish of Dalmatia to associate herself definitely with the rest of the Jugoslav lands in the Empire.

In the following pages the reader will find the detailed reply to the questions put on p. 183.

CHAPTER IV

Electoral triumph of the Slav Unionist party—Petition to the Crown (3rd September, 1870)—Popular suffrage in Dalmatia —Defection of the Autonomist party from the programme of 1866 and its subsequent vicissitudes—The Autonomist party at the cross-roads—Birth of the "Italian" party (1874)— Tactics of the two parties—Liberal complexion of the Unionist programme—Croat invitation to the Dalmatians in 1860— Agitation of the Austrian Government against the Croatian proposal—Division between the two parties—Political mistakes—Defence of the Serbo-Croatian language—Negative character of the Italian programme.

I

THIS book being rather in the nature of a summary, I must refrain from going into all the phases of the duel between the antiquated idea of an autonomous Dalmatia tending to become more and more Italian in character, and the idea of the new age, i.e. the vindication of the Slav character of Dalmatia and of its union with the sister provinces. But as we have now arrived at the suprême crisis which decided the final triumph of the Slav character of Dalmatia, it is necessary to give a general sketch of the historic movement by which the oligarchic regime was forced to yield before the first manifestation of the national will.

The first months of 1870 witnessed an epoch of profound dissension in the Austrian Cabinet. One section, consisting of fanatical Germans (Plener,

Hasner, Giskra, Herbst and Brestel), advocated the application of the Dualist Regime inaugurated in 1867, in other words, of a Centralist system with two faces—a German face in Cisleithania, and a Magyar face in Transleithania. This group enjoyed the unconditional and unwavering support of the Italian Autonomists in Dalmatia, led by the deputy Lapenna. The opposing section (Taaffe, Berger and Potocki) on the other hand desired an understanding with the Slav peoples and proposed the dissolution of the Imperial Parliament (Reichsrat) and the Provincial Diets, in order to inquire into the situation with the help of a new set of national representatives. After hesitating for a long time, the Emperor declared himself for the Majority in the Cabinet and requested Hasner to form a new ministry. But the federalist agitation was increasing. Greatly alarmed, Count Beust, the Foreign Minister, advised a policy of conciliation, in opposition to Giskra, who preached "Nur nicht slavisch!" (Anything but Slav!) The Diets refused to send delegates to the Reichsrat. The Czechs abstained, with the result that the Imperial Parliament, instead of numbering 203 delegates, was reduced to 129. Finally, Hasner handed in his resignation, Potocki came into power with Taaffe as Minister of the Interior, amid the acclamations of the Federalist party, and the new Cabinet promptly dissolved the Diets (22nd May, 1870). The *Nazionale* expressed the confidence of the nation in the forthcoming elections, which would be carried out free from administrative pressure and would put an end to the tyranny of a party which had for seven years pretended to represent Dalmatia.

The *Neue Freie Presse* entered the lists on behalf of the Autonomist party and gave space in its columns to Lapenna's letters from Zara, in which he frankly accused the Slav party of sedition and irredentism. In these diatribes the new Governor, Baron Rodić, was invited to choose between the rebellious Serbs of Bocche di Cattaro leagued with the Slav agitators of Prague, Zagreb, Belgrade and Moscow, and the Autonomist party, representing Dalmatian "intelligentsia" and respect for the Constitution, and the one source of support left to the Government in Dalmatia.

The elections took place on 4th, 7th and 9th July. Taaffe had solemnly promised that they should be carried out in absolute liberty, free from all interference from the administration. The Autonomists replied by organizing a veritable State within a State, a revolt of the official personnel against the Government. The district chiefs Franz, Eluschegg, Laneve, Fortis and Barbieri, strong adherents of the late Centralist Cabinet, did all they could to bring pressure to bear on the electors and secure the triumph of the Italian candidates, while the *Nazionale* asked nothing from the Government but "impartiality and justice." A few hours before the ballot, the *Nazionale* addressed the following appeal to the electors: "On the eve of the Battle of Trafalgar Nelson signalled to the Fleet: 'England expects every man to do his duty.' On the morrow every sailor did his duty and the enemy fleet was destroyed. To-day we address the same message to you: 'The country expects every man to do his duty.'"

In point of fact, despite countless acts of adminis-

trative pressure, and despite all attempts at intimidation on the part of the ruling party, the triumph of the Slav Nationalists was complete. The rural communes returned seventeen Slav and three Italian-Autonomist candidates; the towns and Chambers of Commerce (Sebenico, Ragusa, Cattaro, and the Chambers of Commerce of Zara and Ragusa) returned five Slav and six Autonomist candidates. The successful Autonomist candidates were returned by Zara, where Petrović, an Autonomist Orthodox Serb, was elected; Spalato, where Bajamonti was re-elected; Makarska, Lesina, Curzola and the Spalato Chamber of Commerce.

The constituencies subjected to the greatest pressure returned three Slav candidates (Cattaro and Ragusa) and seven Autonomists (Zara and Spalato). Total, twenty-five Slavs and sixteen Autonomists. The result of the elections was hailed with an outburst of joy, not only in Dalmatia itself, but throughout the Jugoslav lands. Zagreb was filled with boundless enthusiasm.

"The electoral victory of the National party in Dalmatia," wrote the principal organ of the National party in Croatia, "is the happiest and most important event that has occurred among our people since 1848. Darkness reigns in all our lands—in Croatia, in Bosnia, in Serbia, in the old Serbian Vojvodina. Now a friendly star has arisen in Dalmatia, which sheds its light upon us all, and brings us the glad assurance of a happier future."

But the Government in Vienna remained true to its habitual policy of deceit, which remains the same alike under Taaffe, or Schmerling, or Clam Martinic. Together with the new Governor-General Rodić it appointed one of the most detested officials

of the Centralist regime, Alesani, to act as a check upon the Governor and the new Majority. The first President of the Diet was appointed from the Slav Majority, Mr. Ljubiša, an Orthodox Serb, who had been an energetic champion of the National cause ever since 1861. The use of the Serbo-Croat language was at once adopted for the official record of the Diet, not exclusively, but on an equal footing with the Italian. But even this concession to an infinitesimal Minority failed to console the Autonomists. Lost and humiliated, they abstained from taking part in the sittings, and eight of their number, including Bajamonti, Filippi and Radmilli, resigned their seats.

On the morrow of the triumph of the Slav National party, *Il Nazionale* wrote as follows:

"In all rural communes, with the exception of four or five islands, the National idea has brought all hearts into one single camp. Neither force nor fraud can rob us of these constituencies. If our enemies should dare to dispute them, they would first have to declare a state of siege in Dalmatia and draft thousands of soldiers into each electoral district."

The first official action undertaken by the new Majority was a demonstration in favour of the union, regardless of the emphatic declarations of the Imperial Commissioner, who protested that the question of "State Rights" had already been decided, so far as Dalmatia was concerned—on the basis of the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867. In the memorable sitting of September 3rd, the Majority unanimously voted an Address to the Crown, expressing in the name of the Diet

the wish of Dalmatia to be united with Croatia. It was Count Vojnović's *A Vote for Union* transformed into a collective vote.

This Address of 1870 constitutes the programme of the Dalmatian National party. They demanded, like their predecessors in 1797, that all those lands which are akin in blood and language and share the same aspirations, should be united in a single unit. In more modern parlance, they demanded the application of the *principle of nationality*, on the basis of ancient agreements and within the framework of the Empire. They thus also paid due respect to the historic principle.

There was a twofold principle underlying the Address of 1870. Dalmatia forms an integral, even an essential part of the Serbo-Croat territorial bloc which in the Middle Ages formed a kingdom between the Save, the Drave and the Adriatic. The inclusion of Dalmatia within this national bloc is connected with the history of Hungary, and in particular with the coronation of Koloman, King of Hungary and Croatia, as King of Dalmatia in 1102. Their joint history was several times interrupted by the Venetian domination. But it was never really obliterated, and it certainly was never forgotten by the people.

In 1527 the Croatian Estates, meeting at Cetin in Dalmatia, freely elected Ferdinand I King of Croatia. Several Dalmatian representatives were present, and Bishop Andrew of Knin took his place in the Assembly as a baron of the kingdom. It is true that Dalmatia was not represented when in 1712 the Estates of the Austrian and Hungarian lands accepted the Pragmatic Sanction. But in

1797, upon the fall of the Republic of Venice, the municipalities and rural communes of Dalmatia decided with one accord to proclaim Francis II as King of Dalmatia likewise, and this decision was confirmed by the Royal Manifesto of 3rd July, 1797. Certainly throughout the reigns of Francis II (I of Austria) and Ferdinand V (I of Austria) it was frankly deemed impossible to realize the union which they desired. But by the Diploma of 26th February, 1861, Francis Joseph declared the provincial statute of Dalmatia to be of a merely *provisional* nature, until the reunion of that province with the Kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia could be transformed into a reality. Dalmatia was even invited to co-operate with the Croatian Parliament in the steps necessary for the renewal of the old political and national tie.

" Unfortunately," the address proceeds, " all the generous intentions of Your Majesty and Your Majesty's predecessors have failed to be put in effect, although the Dalmatian people was thoroughly conscious of where it belongs, *in virtue of a public right which is fully in harmony with the natural right of nationality.*

" Therefore, the deputies of the Kingdom of Dalmatia, petition Your Majesty for such measures as shall enable the representatives of the two countries (Dalmatia and Croatia) to open the necessary negotiations for the re-establishment of their union." [1]

The Crown replied to this address of the Slav Majority by vague and inconclusive promises—

[1] There follows the Dalmatian *Book of Grievances*:

I. Anti-national administration; II. Judicial corruption; III. Neglect of public instruction; IV. Demand for the introduction of the Serbo-Croat language in the schools, law courts, and administration, so that " the people which we represent may no

and nothing came of the union. *The idea of it*, however, had taken powerful hold of the minds in all Jugoslav lands, including Serbia and Montenegro. Unionists and Irredentists alike understood that it contained the germ of that ampler idea of Jugoslav union as divined and outlined by Gaj and Strossmayer among the Croats; by Michael Obrenović and Ristić among the Serbs, and by Peter II in Montenegro. Everybody was alive to the fact that these partial unions were only the prologues, or at best necessary stages on the road to the general union. But Austria and Hungary (who would gladly have dispensed with the insistent appeal to Koloman's coronation) likewise understood only too well, and took care to discourage every proposal for Dalmato-Croatian negotiations. A long series of obstinate refusals was all the answer vouchsafed by Austria to the request of the Dalmatian people, which had been frequently seconded by the National Assembly in Zagreb from 1806 onward.[1]

That the demand for union implied a grave danger for the Monarchy is further shown by the fact that

longer be a stranger in its own house"; V. Partial application of the Military Act; VI. The insurrection at Bocche di Cattaro was most regrettable, but it was claimed that the ancient usages and national customs of Bocche di Cattaro, Ragusa and Dalmatia as a whole should be respected; VII. Agriculture, industry and the mercantile marine call for emergency measures; VIII. The Customs system calls for reform; IX. Complete absence of railroads, their construction urgently demanded.

If we compare this document with Daniel Manin's Memorandum of 5th January, 1848, we shall see that that great patriot demanded very much the same from Austria for Venetia as the Dalmatian patriots claimed for Dalmatia in 1870. Cf. Tivaroni, *L'Italia durante il dominio Austriaco. L'Italia settentrionale*, vol. i. pp. 515–516. Turin, Rome, 1892.

[1] The Croatian Diet, officially styled the *Diet of the Kingdoms*

whenever the Dalmatian Diet sought to revive the proposal, it was invariably prevented from doing so by an Imperial order, by a prorogation of the session, or even by dissolution. Meanwhile any extra-Parliamentary demand for the union, through the Press or public meetings, was frequently suppressed by confiscation and even imprisonment.

To those who would decry the Dalmatian people as the blind instrument of Austrian suggestion, we may reply in the words of Count Cavour:

"It is not sufficient for the establishment of a nation," he declared in June 1860, "that the country in question should have witnessed the birth within it of great citizens, who by their nationality necessarily belong to the nationality in dispute. What is needed is that the mass of the population should belong to this nationality. And in spite of bribes, pressure and influence, the result (of the elections) will always approximately reflect the state of public opinion. . . ."

Referring to the plebiscite of Nice, he added:

"I quite believe that influence and bribes may have determined a few votes, but as to the vote of the mass, the vote of those twenty-six to twenty-seven thousand inhabitants who were in favour of France—never believe it, gentlemen, that this was the result of bribery or influence. If it were so, we should have to say that the people of Nice are corrupt to the core, to permit themselves to be so easily intimidated and led astray." [1]

Now any one with some knowledge of the Dalmatian

of Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia, submitted Addresses to the Crown in favour of the union of Dalmatia and Croatia in the following years: 1806, 1825, 1832, 1839, 1845, 1848, 1851, 1868, 1878. After the last-named date, the resolution was renewed automatically in each legislative period, until the war of 1914.

[1] *Discorsi Parlamentari Ed. ufficiale,* vol. vi.

people cannot but testify favourably to their quick intelligence, admirable common sense, pride and self-respect. In spite of the large percentage of illiterates,[1] our people exhibits daily a profound philosophy of life, a wealth of feeling and expression and a moral sense infinitely greater than are displayed by peoples with a far smaller percentage of illiterates. To the objection that the masses "of Slav speech" are lacking in national consciousness, we might fairly reply by pointing out the total absence of "national consciousness" in many of the detractors of the Dalmatian people. There are many such who, having risen superior to their illiterate parents and grandparents through the blessings of higher education, have profited by it to renounce the faith and nationality of their fathers. I may also quote the testimony of Giuseppe Mazzini and Cesare Correnti, both of whom regretfully stated in 1847, that in fifteen years they had only succeeded in implanting political interest in the academic youth. Among the masses they had failed utterly.[2] "The masses never take the initiative, not even if one could achieve the impossible feat of preaching

[1] According to the Census of 1910 62·8 per cent. of the population of Dalmatia were illiterates, but this proportion must have been much smaller in 1916, considering that in the course of only ten years the percentage had already fallen from 73·3 per cent. to 62·8 per cent. If we compare these figures with the Italian returns, we find that the provinces of Basilicata and Calabria show an even higher percentage of illiterates (65·3 and 69·6), while the Abruzzi with 57·6, Apulia with 59·4, Sicily with 58·0, Sardinia with 58·0 and the Campagna with 53·7 are scarcely better off than Dalmatia (Census of 1911). But it should not be forgotten that even Tuscany, the cradle of Dante, Michael Angelo and Galileo, still shows a percentage of 37·4 illiterates (48·2 in 1901).

[2] Cesare Correnti, quoted by Salvemini in his *Mazzini*, p. 32.

them into a revolution. But they will follow the men of the middle classes, if the latter wish it." [1] Seventy years later Signor Ivanoe Bonomi did not hesitate to say that even to-day "those ignorant of this historical process are amazed when, in the rich townships of the Paduan plains, they hear the socialist peasants profess the most utter indifference to the fate of the country." [2]

Hence it would be absurd and unjust to demand from the mass of the Dalmatian people what could not be expected from the mass of Italian people—that they should initiate a movement, or furnish the proof of having risen within the shortest possible time by their own unaided efforts to full self-consciousness. But we have no hesitation in asserting that no people has ever progressed so rapidly to a consciousness of its ethnic individuality as the Dalmatian people, or indeed the whole Serbo-Croat people from the Adriatic to the Danube. The phenomenon would be difficult to understand except upon the assumption that the national sentiment was strongly rooted in its nature and that it had merely lain fallow for centuries, waiting for an educated and intellectual class to cause it once more to become fruitful.

[1] *Mazzini*, cit. ibid. 184.

[2] We recommend his interesting article, "Il Socialismo Italiano e la Guerra," in the *Nuova Rassegna* of 28th June, 1916. The said article also contains the following: "In 1843 the Italian Liberals complained of the hostility of the peasantry who constituted the powerful reserve of the counter-revolution. Garibaldi mentions in his memoirs that he always found his followers in the cities, never in the country. . . . The city accomplished the revolution, while the country merely endured it."

II

The Autonomist party did not remain true to the programme of 1866. When invited to help in the development of the national language and its introduction (though only within limits) into the public life of the country, this party suddenly refused its co-operation and even attacked the language of the race to which, by their own confession, its members belonged. The *Nazionale* more than once pointed out this lack of logic. "The Autonomists" —so we read in 1867—"declare that they are certainly opposed to annexation, but that they do not wish to advocate the Italianization of the province. Facts, however, contradict these statements. When have the Autonomists ever supported the proposal to introduce Serbo-Croat in the schools? When have they presented a Slav institution with a little of the money they have amassed in Dalmatia? But instead of that they rebel when there is a question of drawing up the minutes of the Diet in Serbo-Croat *as well as* in Italian."[1]

[1] Among the countless hostile demonstrations on the part of the Autonomist party against the Slav character of the province —always admitted by the party, however—we will mention the vote recorded in the Diet on 23rd September, 1868. During the sitting the Slav Minority demanded that the authorities should, when dealing with administrative or legal documents, employ the language of the party which had handed them in. This very modest request was refused by the vote of all the Autonomists, with the sole exception of Jacopo Ghiglianovitch. The two prelates who hold seats in the Dalmatian Diet, viz. the Catholic Archbishop of Zara and the Orthodox Bishop of Cattaro, also voted against the suggestion, at the instigation of Lapenna, who acted by order of the Imperial Government. Next day the *Nazionale* wrote the following indignant words: "In the history of our people, the 23rd of September will henceforth be marked in black. Future

The Autonomist party, hedged round with a barren negative policy, insisted upon confusing the political aspect of the question with the racial-national aspect. While insisting upon the ethnically Slav character of Dalmatia, its members nevertheless lacked the large-mindedness to pursue this idea to its strict and logical conclusions and refused to admit the necessity of a union of Dalmatia with the sister provinces. And they were weak enough to yield to suggestions from a quarter where the principle of *divide et impera* was reduced to a system of Government. They were thus finally reduced to

generations will refuse to believe that the Majority in a National Assembly had proceeded to the Order of the Day over the body of an entire nation. No greater insult could have been proffered us. . . . But the day will come when, remembering the 23rd of September, we, the native race of this country, then masters of our own destiny, shall proceed over the statutes of a few aliens and apostates to the Order of the Day, and shall do so for good."

With reference to the school question it is interesting to note the returns referring to scholars at the Secondary Schools (Gymnasia) of Zara, Spalato, Sinj and Ragusa, as published in the Austrian official statistics of 1865, the year when the Autonomist party in Dalmatia was at the height of its power, besides engaging the powerful support of the Government. As regards nationality, the returns work out as follows: Zara: Croats and Serbs 85, Italians 151; Spalato: Croats and Serbs 175, Italians none; Sinj: Croats and Serbs 44, Italians none; Ragusa, Croats and Serbs 124, Italians none. The large number of Italians (151) in Zara is due to two factors, which have nothing to do with the principle of nationality: (*a*) The presence in Zara (which is the headquarters of the Provincial administration) of a large number of officials, mainly natives of Dalmatia, but until 1865 generally selected from the bureaucratic reserves of Venice. Naturally these officials described their sons as Italians, either because they really were Italians, or because they wished to curry favour with the powerful Centralist Government in Vienna. (*b*) The presence in Zara of many families of Italian business men, immigrants from the kingdom, who have helped to spread false impressions in Italy concerning the ethnical character of Dalmatia, and Zara in particular.

opposing the claims of a language whose supremacy their own party had proclaimed.

Of course there was no way out of this dilemma, and after the pitiful political death of Bajamonti no one tried to find one. The party drifted into a purely negative policy, flatly opposed to the progress of facts, no less than to its own traditions as regards language and political programme. By their inability to set bounds to their devotion to Italian culture, which their opponents admired no less than themselves, they merely provoked a violent reaction against Italian culture, which kept pace, as Bajamonti had foreseen, with the development of the Near Eastern Question. This reaction was in fact the deplorable but natural consequence of the dangerous theory of a "superior" and an "inferior" race—a theory which the Autonomist party itself had strenuously opposed in its early phases.

The formula "Slavs to-morrow, Croats never!" (carefully qualified by Bajamonti himself, who sought to link it with the solution of the Near Eastern Question) was negative and paradoxical in spite of its confession of Slavdom. It was of a piece with that other declaration by Count Borelli, that Dalmatia ought to associate herself with the Serb provinces of Turkey (this was in 1862!)—and not with those already included in the Habsburg Monarchy! In fact, they conjured up the distant mirage of an as yet *unrealizable* Slav organism, in order to divert the attention of the people from the *realizable* solution lying at their doors. This paradox was denounced by the National party.

"We appeal to any one gifted with ordinary common sense," wrote Count Vojnović. "What would they say of us abroad

if they knew that we in Dalmatia are now faced by a problem, the solution of which is doubtful; and that our *separation* from a brother nation at our doors asking to be associated with us is regarded as a *preparation* for our union with a people of the same race which is still groaning under the iron rod of the Ottoman Pasha? We can quite understand a difference of opinion with regard to the manner of our union with Croatia and Slavonia. But how any one can question the advisability of the union itself, how any one can oppose it in face of everybody and in every shape, and yet suggest to Dalmatia the supreme aim to which we referred, we absolutely fail to understand. It is contrary to the elementary laws of sense and reason that one should pursue an object, and at the same time fiercely reject the means which not only political wisdom but ordinary common sense suggests as conducive to its realization." [1]

Vojnović then propounds the dilemma:

"Either we believe that Dalmatia is Slav, even a chosen and privileged part of Slavdom, and that her union with Croatia and Slavonia (which would be perfectly consistent with constitutional law and the true national interest) can only lead to mutual reinforcement and secure for us through the enfranchisement of our unhappy brothers from the harsh Turkish yoke that influence which Providence has destined for us, and of which, if God and fortune favour us, the cruel hand of strangers shall never again deprive us! Or, again, there are those who find that Dalmatia is no longer Slav, and look for her future to another quarter. Then we will recommend them to read what Tommasèo said on this subject in his first pamphlet on the union and frankly quote the dictum of a French publicist (with regard to quite another question), that in that case Unionist and Autonomist 'speak two languages which have nothing in common. . . .' What is truth and justice in one party becomes deceit and iniquity for the other. Under such conditions all discussions can only serve to show up more clearly the impossibility of an agreement and reveal the vic-

[1] *Un Voto per l'Unione*, p. 38–39.

tory of one of the two parties over the other.' We repeat with him that we are convinced that it will *not* be the party of progress and liberty, in fact the *National party*, which will go to the wall."

In this constant conflict between recognized premises and rejected conclusions, the members of the Autonomist party, entrenched in the partly dismantled citadel of Zara, held aloof from all contact with the people at large. National life with its manifold manifestations continued to evolve beyond their ken and without their participation, like a dance whose music they could not grasp.

The divorce of the party from the Dalmatian people did not, however, become absolute until 1874. This year saw the birth of an "Italian nationality" in Dalmatia. Beaten at the by-elections for the Dalmatian Diet, and having lost all hope of regaining the majority in Parliament by help of the support of the Imperial Government, the Autonomist party changed its tactics. In order to benefit by Article 19 of the Constitution, which guarantees to all the languages of the Empire the right of free development, it transformed itself into the "Italian party." And by a cruel irony of history the first who officially put forward the claim of an "Italian nationality" in Dalmatia, was not even an Italian, but a certain Dr. Keller, who was born in Dalmatia but of German parents, and now sat in the Reichsrat as representative of the Dalmatian taxpayers.[1]

In the sitting of 10th December, 1874, while opposing, as a German, the proposal to Slavicize the

[1] Under the old curial franchise which then prevailed.

secondary schools in Dalmatia, Keller incidentally stated that "he spoke in the name of the Italian nationality in Dalmatia." Hereby he placed himself in direct opposition to his party chief Lapenna who, as we have seen, always protested against the epithet "Italian" being bestowed upon the Autonomist party, and to Bajamonti, who even in 1874 declared in the Diet—after his defection!—that "he would be neither Italian nor Slav, but Dalmatian." This bold challenge was taken up by the deputy Klaić:

"The Italian language," he replied, "exists in Dalmatia, and no one will marvel at it who knows the history of our country; but an Italian nationality, in the proper sense of the word, does not exist."

Keller's declaration aroused a general protest, almost a commotion throughout the country The Commune of Knin took the initiative with a solemn collective assertion of the Slav character of the province and of practically all the communes that constitute it. The Autonomist party had committed suicide. The great Dalmatian had preceded it into the grave in Florence, in merciful ignorance of the collapse of the dominant idea of his life.

Nor can the National party be regarded as altogether blameless. Their mistake lay in presuming too much upon the moral resources and political preparedness of an exhausted and torpid province. And yet the period lent itself singularly to the realization of the boldest dreams. Between the October Diploma of 1860, by which Austria seemed to inaugurate a genuine Constitutional era, and the defeat of Sadowa of 1866, which deprived her of the leadership of the German Confederation, the fortunes

of the House of Habsburg had borne it to the threshold of a new and brilliant phase in its chequered career. Not inaptly did Cardinal Mazarin once remark: "Toutes les fois que la maison d'Autriche a été aux abois, elle a tiré un miracle de sa poche."

Had the House of Habsburg ever really understood its position as arbiter between East and West, it might easily have bound up in an Imperial sheaf, as it were, the exuberant forces of its various nationalities. The latter were only too anxious to develop harmoniously and at not too great a cost under the shadow of an impartial Central Power, and thus to form a strong Federation, which might have permanently steadied the European balance of power and solved the Near Eastern problem in its own interests—which would in that case have been the common interest of Europe. It was a supreme opportunity which never presented itself again. The Habsburgs refused to call to mind anything but their German descent and the etymology of their ancestral title: Habichtsburg—The Castle of the Hawk. They preferred to act as propagators of aggressive Germanism, and ever since '66 shaped their course light-heartedly towards the stupendous catastrophe which has at this moment overthrown them.

But while admitting that the moment was propitious for the unification of kindred peoples, it is idle to ignore that the Dalmatian National party, intoxicated by the spectacle of the Italian Risorgimento, exaggerated the political side of its mission, to the undeniable detriment of the national interest.

The actual condition of Dalmatia demanded rather that the uncertain flame of national sentiment

should be carefully kept burning and strengthened in perfect agreement with the Liberal Autonomist party, and that all theories of the historic rights of the province, which had been obscured by so many centuries of alien rule, should be laid aside until a more propitious time.

"The members of the National party," cried Galvani, an Autonomist deputy, in 1865, "allow themselves to be guided by two pole-stars, one on this side of the Velebit, and the other beyond it."

Vojnović replied:

"The only pole-star upon which our eyes are fixed is the development and realization of the Slav nationality in Dalmatia, by liberty within the bounds of the Constitution."

Wise words, the corroboration of which is furnished by the speaker's own definition of historic rights: "Historic rights are everything and nothing: Nothing when they rest upon violence; everything when they are in agreement with nature and are the interpretation of the national life in public and private rights." This definition, so often quoted in the debates of the Dalmatian Diet, is plain and unequivocal. But everything depended upon applying it with tact and moderation to a body politic debilitated by having been for centuries kept out of both its historic and national rights, and by more than a hundred years of social and spiritual torpor. The "men of the new course" ought to have carefully pondered Mazzini's profound analysis: "To confound the exaggeration of a principle with the principle itself is a mistake as frequently found in those

who approve. The former fear to be drawn by a first consequence to an undesired goal; and therefore they obstinately deny everything; or, forcing the principle to its ultimate consequences, in order to fight it better, they persuade themselves that the principle and these ultimate consequences are one and the same thing. (This applies absolutely to the members of the Liberal wing of the Autonomist party and their cry of "We will not be Croats," which nobody had ever asked them to be.) "The latter, wearied perhaps by having to win every strategic position slowly and by endless struggles, proceed at once to demand the acceptance of the final corollary, so that, if indeed they are successful, all intermediate propositions will likewise be gained by them." (This applies to the National party, which was only too prone to apply moral pressure at the very outset to public opinion as yet insufficiently prepared for the union of Dalmatia with Croatia.) "Thus," concludes Mazzini, "the scruples of the former and the impatience of the latter only further complicate the questions and close the way to a peaceful issue." [1]

Yet in 1860 the ways to peace were still well open. In virtue of an autograph Imperial letter addressed direct to the Ban of Croatia, a Conference was convoked in Zagreb on 5th December. In his letter the Emperor-King declared himself "disposed to adhere to the wishes which have come to My knowledge concerning the union of My Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia," and informed the Ban that he "had taken the necessary measure whereby deputies from My Kingdom of

[1] *Il Dramma Storico*, pp. 63–64. Scritti Scelti, Milano, 1915.

Dalmatia shall be convened to the Banal Conference to discuss the question, to the end that it may be thoroughly investigated and regulated in such a manner as shall satisfy all parties."

The Conference had replied by issuing a proclamation to the Dalmatians (19th December), which deserves to be quoted in full, both as an eloquent summary of all the reasons militating in favour of union, and because it derives its inspiration from the same principles which underlay the unification of Italy.

"Dalmatians, countrymen!"—thus ran this memorable document. "You know well that your people and our people on either side of the Velebit are but one nation; you know that for many glorious centuries we lived together under the same Sovereign, under the same laws, observing the same customs. United we repelled the violence of the Turks, defending other European peoples and countries against the invasion of Asiatic and pagan tyrants. You also know, as well as we ourselves, what has parted our people, though they are of one blood and language and identical in their customs, desires and hopes. You know what has dismembered our common country, which is not divided by seas, by rivers, nor by the frontiers of foreign realms, but indeed united and linked together by Divine Providence by the mountains, where are born the men who sail your seas and form the armies against your enemies and ours.

"No mutual enmity or strife have parted us, for neither our fathers nor our forefathers made war upon one another; nor have selfish needs or interests parted us, for just as we need your sea and your seamen, so you require our forests and fields, our farmers and soldiers.

"An alien hand and alien interests have parted us; an alien mind, foreign cunning and policy, have parted the sons of one mother, have separated the lands that belonged together, and have undermined all national happiness which can only blossom and expand in national unity and concord.

" Brothers, Dalmatians, countrymen ! After long centuries the opportunity has come by which our neighbouring nations, akin in every respect, can once more be drawn together and become united as completely as possible.

" You were at one time strong by your maritime commerce, and strong in your own house by your spirit and intellect. Dalmatia boasted illustrious statesmen, divines, men of letters, artists, warriors and sailors, who were the pride and ornament of your land and ours. Time, however, has enfeebled you, and you have lost not a little of your strength.

" Therefore you need succour and support in every respect. But who, setting aside selfish interest, can offer you this support and help so cordially as your own brother ? We are ready with all our strength to help you, and we are convinced that you, out of the nobility of your character, will help us according to your strength.

" Your land, rugged but beautiful Dalmatia, is the mother of our nation, the cradle of our glory, the daughter of our most glorious national spirit. This we shall never forget !

" Far from us be every selfish outlook as regards our new union. We do not desire to infringe your liberty, your customs, your autonomy. Every man holds dear what is his, and not even a brother dare lay hands upon it, if he desires to keep brotherly love alive.

" Far from us be the thought of inducing you to accept our customs, our laws, or our people as officials or masters. We have no intention of ever subjecting you to a military administration such as that to which part of our nation on this side of the Velebit is subjected.

" Our sole desire is that Dalmatia too shall win back her ancient constitution and her ancient liberties like ourselves ; that from henceforth we should discuss together the various matters that concern us, that we may be of equal strength in our wishes and in every enterprise which may redound to the advantage of our country. In other words, we wish to strengthen our nation by uniting our forces, so that it may in every respect obtain the greatest possible advantages.

" And as for you, our brothers of Italian speech, who call Dalmatia your mother-country, do not look upon us Croats as your enemies. It is not in the least our purpose to inter-

fere with your language, your customs, your rights and your institutions. Our rights and liberties are sacred to us, and for that very reason we must hold yours sacred likewise.

"We look upon you as the happy intermediaries between our Slav nation and artistic Italy, to whom our littoral and that of Dalmatia are indebted for so much good.

"At a time when our people sacrificed all its strength in sanguinary conflicts on the Turkish frontiers, you from your cities on the coast helped unceasingly to diffuse among our nation the artistic treasure amassed in time of peace in lands more fortunate; you scattered much good seed among us, and for this we are grateful to you, because it is not the custom of the Slav to be ungrateful.

"We hold the language of Dante, Petrarch, Tasso and Ariosto in high honour, even as you love it yourselves; but at the same time, following the example of your nation, we hold it to be a sacred duty to raise our melodious language also to that degree of importance and culture which is occupied by your own rich and beautiful tongue.

"Re-enter then, O Dalmatian brothers, into closer ties with ourselves, to whatever language or religion you belong; do not hate those whom we invite as free men to confer with us for your and our advantage; but remember that concord, love and a frank word have often saved kingdoms and people, while disunion and rancour have always brought about ruin."

Simultaneously Bishop Strossmayer, the soul of every great political movement in the Serbo-Croat people, addressed a letter to the Ragusan patrician Marino Giorgi (4th January, 1861), in which he insisted upon the eminently international character of the projected "union, which will secure for us an influence upon the Eastern Question, and in the enfranchisement of our hapless brothers who for so many centuries and in spite of the efforts of European diplomacy, have been groaning under the harsh yoke of the Turks. Providence has reserved for us the rôle of Liberators, and of this the cruel hand of the

stranger shall not deprive us, should God and fortune favour us."

Schmerling, however, was on the watch. How could the most powerful, the most Centralist, the most *German* of the Austrian Ministers ever have permitted the realization of a programme which would have henceforth secured the majority to the Slavs and to Federalism in Austria? Federalist influences, considerations prompted by the critical state of the Near Eastern Question, a certain confused feeling in Hungary that it would be wiser to return to the broad and federal policy of the House of Anjou and even the Árpáds, who never knew anything of the stupid, iron-bound Centralization aimed at by their degenerate successors—all conspired to steer the Monarchy towards Federalism. But Schmerling, with his host of highly paid officials trained to the most servile adoration of the State, had the last word. So cunningly did he manœuvre that it appeared as if the refusal of the Dalmatians to confer with the Croats upon the question of union were the direct outcome of the popular will. The Dalmatian Communes had been invited to pronounce upon the Croat proclamation. But, though the Southern Communes enthusiastically accepted the proposal to nominate delegates for Zagreb, Ragusa and the Bocche di Cattaro were opposed by the united forces of Spalato and Zara, where the bureaucracy was powerfully entrenched. Otherwise the Communes of Central and Northern Dalmatia, although largely in the hands of Autonomist and Italianist elements, would not have dared to put themselves in direct opposition to the Unionist current which was beginning to pervade the country.

Finally, avoiding the main point of the question, the final decision was referred to the Diet, which was shortly to be convoked, and which on April 18th, 1861, definitely refused the proposed Conference of Zagreb.

The impression produced by this resolution in Zagreb and every other centre of Serbo-Croat life between the Drave and the Adriatic was disastrous. The Dalmato-Croatian union had already found symbolical expression in the Croatian capital on 13th April, 1860, the opening day of the Diet—practically the Constituent Assembly—of Croatia. In the hall that had re-echoed of yore to cries of "War on the Magyars," two illustrious Dalmatians took their places as Croatian deputies, Count Nicholas Pozza for the historic city of Križevci, and the Spalatan poet Luka Botić for the College of Djakovo, the episcopal see of Mgr. Strossmayer. Two other Dalmatians, Count Orsato Pozza and Stephen Ivičević assisted the President of the Diet as honorary members, and other political men from Dalmatia (Milić, Pavlinović, Tripković, Klaić) attended the sitting in the semicircular arena as "guests of the people of Croatia."

In the presence of the Dalmatian deputies the Diet, amidst applause, voted for an Address to the Crown (1st May), in which the representatives of the nation demanded the union of Dalmatia, Ragusa, Bocche di Cattaro and the Quarnero Islands with Croatia-Slavonia in one political national unit. Several days later (on 8th May) the address was presented to the Emperor. Francis Joseph kept silence as regards Dalmatia. Indeed, he could not very well stultify his own work. For the resolution passed

by the Dalmatian Diet was in fact only the direct outcome of his policy.

The decision of the Diet of 1861 was simply an Austrian Centralist decree, reinforced by Autonomist memories. The latter were subsequently most ingenuously exploited by Tommaseò who, inaccurately informed and far from his native land, failed to perceive that his polemics only served to consolidate that anti-Liberal, Centralist and fiercely anti-Slav campaign against which he himself had fought all his life!

This Diet was elected on the basis of a franchise which assigned only twenty deputies to 400,000 inhabitants, while allowing twenty-one to 20,000! Under the pressure exercised by Schmerling, the Majority consisted of *twelve Government officials*, five priests, five ex-Mayors (elected under the old electoral law, which left them directly subordinate to the political authorities), three landed proprietors, two advocates and a notary.

Dalmatia was in a state of political dry-rot. Old survivals of the Venetian era, new Black-and-Yellow bureaucracy, which was in reality even more antiquated, a little communal sentimentality, a little romanticism *à la* Aleardi and Vittorelli—all this barred the way to the Nationalist forces. As for the latter, after this first defeat, as after their first great victory in 1870, they ought unquestionably to have insisted less on the purely political aspect of the union and rather tried to conclude an alliance with the Liberal Italianist elements, which already fully realized the impossibility of persevering in a purely negative policy, fatal to the most vital interests of Dalmatia.

As misfortune would have it, the leadership of the National party passed from the hands of Klaić, a man with the qualities of a true statesman—moderate and liberal, open to all the currents of the time and possessing the necessary conciliatory spirit—and came under the direction of the Clerical section, headed by the deputy Father Pavlinović, a distinguished patriot, but dogmatic and intolerant, as even the most admirable Churchmen have usually shown themselves in the management of public affairs.

This Clerical section laid exaggerated stress upon the campaign for union with Croatia, to the obvious detriment of an understanding with the honest Autonomists and with the Serb wing of the National party. They showed themselves uncompromising and intolerant towards all who did not fully agree, not merely as regards the principle, but even the tactical expediency of the union, and towards those who refused to accept one-sided absorption and the consequent renunciation of all the ancient municipal rights of Dalmatia. Thus the spirit by which the splendid National movement of the 'sixties was imbued, and which animated the Manifesto of the Zagreb Conference, ceased to pervade the deliberations of its leaders. The struggle between the rival conceptions of Autonomy and Croat Neo-Centralism grew more and more bitter.

To these tactical mistakes was added a violent reaction against the Italian language, especially in the scholastic world. We have seen that this reaction was really due to the treacherous policy of those who, while professing themselves Slavs with their lips, by their deeds in a thousand ways

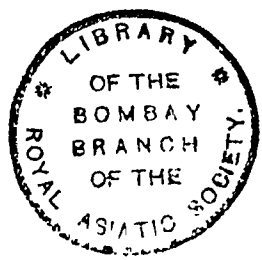
obstructed the development of the Slav language and nationality of Dalmatia in all forms of public life. It is impossible to forbid a people, which after long foreign domination has just arrived at a consciousness of its national individuality, the right to an increased study and practical employment of the national language. Tommasèo and others with him had pointed to the terminological deficiency of Serbo-Croat in order to justify "provisionally" the absolute predominance of a fully developed idiom like Italian. It was thus a question of gaining two points. Firstly, to demonstrate that Serbo-Croat (to which Tommasèo had paid the highest possible tribute in his writings [1]), though perhaps not suitable for the loftiest discussions of Kantian philosophy, was nevertheless amply sufficient for the civil and literary needs of a people which was a late arrival upon the stage of European history; and at the same time to proclaim the unimpeachable rights of the language, as the most visible and most eloquent outward sign of the ethnic character of the nation.

That to this day every educated person in Dalmatia speaks Italian and boasts—with good cause—of being in part a product of Italian culture, is no reason for forcing upon the country an ethnical physiognomy which is not its own, by confusing

[1] See *Secondo Esilio*, i. p. 153–154: "The purest language, the most full-toned and the most harmonious, is Serbian as spoken in Serbia, Bosnia, Herzegovina and Dalmatia, less correctly in Croatia and other parts of the Austrian Empire, and finally by the Hungarian Slavs. . . . And the reason why Serbian is so complete a language is this: that the Slavs, coming from Asia, could not have penetrated so far, if they had not been the first, and because the Serbian race, by the virile beauty of its lineaments, proves the nobility of its origin. . . ." Many similar extracts could be given.

civilization with nationality. Slav civilization has made such strides that what could be said even of our fathers is no longer true; and moreover, what would Europe, and even Italy, have thought of the Dalmatian people, if it had docilely continued to cultivate the Italian language to the detriment of its mother-tongue?

However, all these mistakes cannot justify the altogether negative policy of the Autonomist (now the Italian) party in Dalmatia, nor its persistent hostility to the native tongue of the Dalmatian people. The *status quo* is at the best an expedient, not an idea.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CHAPTER V

Austrian persecution of Slav Unionist party in Dalmatia—The Austrian Government finds efficacious support in the Autonomist party—Gradual weakening of the conflict between the Slavs and the Italian party—Schemes for reconciliation on the basis of a recognition of the Slav character of Dalmatia.

THE feeble strand of Italian life in Dalmatia is doomed to sink quietly into the grave of historic memories. The political elements whence the Italian party derives its origin, the forces to which it owes its existence, are so slender and in such crying contrast to the full-blooded social and moral life of the land which harbours it, that it would not be worth while to devote our attention to it, were we not forced to do so by the artificial propaganda originating from the opposite shores of the Adriatic. This propaganda is armed with all the usual terrors of the *ancien régime*, viz. strategic frontiers, inevitable predominance, in short, with the whole arsenal of arguments to which the world owes the hecatombs of victims of the late conflagration.

Three cardinal facts should be borne in mind, which are inseparably bound up with the life of the party which obstinately ignores the rights of the nation to whose long-suffering patience it owes its precarious existence.

DALMATIA AND THE JUGOSLAV MOVEMENT

I. Italian irredentism was and is an absolutely unknown growth in Dalmatia. The idea of a cession of Dalmatia to Italy never occurred to the minds of the Autonomist party; not even to the younger generation. In this Dalmatia differs materially from Trieste, from Trento and from certain isolated townships in the Istrian Peninsula. In its issue of 7th January, 1861, the *Gazzetta di Fiume*—the only Italian organ besides the *Voce Dalmatica*, which since 1860 has dealt in outspoken fashion with the problems of political equilibrium in Dalmatia and which was fiercely opposed to the union of Dalmatia with Croatia—expressed the views of all Italian-speaking Dalmatians in the following significant words:

"Finally it would be a fatal mistake to listen to those false insinuations which would make us believe that Dalmatia, through the intermediary of its Italian element, is in any way nursing within herself a tendency towards an eventual union with Italy. We consider the Dalmatians too sensible to credit them with the desire of becoming a kind of colony, and of adopting Italy as their mother without any necessity.

"To those politicians who already see Dalmatia swallowed up by the Italian avalanche, we would say that the width of the Adriatic is sufficient to nullify its impetus entirely. . . . If the English Channel, the Rhine, and the Danube suffice to keep separate those who ought to be separated, the broad arm of the Adriatic will not be less efficacious in confining Italian aspirations.

"The future of Dalmatia is quite independent of that of Italy. In a far distant, but none the less certain, future Dalmatia will prosper when the peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina enter the European comity of nations, and find in Dalmatia their natural seaboard. All Dalmatia's interests gravitate towards the Balkan rather than the Appenine Peninsula."

The explicit declarations of the heads of the Autonomist party, from Bajamonti and Lapenna to the rank and file of Zaratine Italianism, are abundantly clear as to the inseparability of Dalmatia and her destinies from those of her Slav hinterland. This conviction was moreover shared in Italy by Tommasèo, Cavour, Mazzini, Correnti, Mamiani, Ricasoli, Gino Capponi, Garibaldi and indeed—more or less openly—by the most balanced minds in contemporary Italy. Our assertion concerning the non-existence of a Dalmatian irredentism is borne out by the explicit declarations of Luigi Ziliotto, advocate, leader of the Young Italo-Dalmatian party and Mayor of Zara, who solemnly declared at a sitting of the Diet in 1896:

"How can we, divided from Italy by the entire Adriatic, a poor few thousands scattered without territorial continuity among a people not of hundreds of thousands, but of millions of Slavs—how can we, I say, think of union with Italy?" [1]

II. As we have seen, the Autonomist party declared itself Slav, and Dalmatia likewise. But it was above all things Austrophil and, except during the Liberal intermezzo, it always looked to the Government for support. The latter protected it energetically, not only up to 1870, but up to our own days, though compelled by the irresistible Slav tide to

[1] Prezzolini, from whose book on Dalmatia we have drawn this quotation, derived originally from the *Short Dalmatian Notes* of the Vice-President of the Dante-Alighieri Society, Count Donato Samminiatelli (*Nuova Antologia*, June 1, 1897), adds the following comment: "This shows conclusively that Signor Ziliotto recognized the union of the Slav people of Dalmatia with that of its hinterland; otherwise he would not have spoken of *millions of Slavs*." *Prezzolini*, op. cit. p. 44, No. 2.

yield from time to time to the legitimate demands put forward by the National party.

About this time there began that campaign of denunciation, prosecutions for high treason, political trials and electoral abuses whereby every small Slav success in Slav Dalmatia might be likened to those few yards of trenches which the Allied Armies at untold cost succeeded in wresting from the Germans. It cannot be denied that this campaign was carried on with the connivance or at the suggestion of the Autonomist party, which was represented in the Imperial Parliament by a clique of officials, protected by the Government itself. It was at the height of its power in Dalmatia between 1860 and 1874, with every inducement to fight for the retention of its oligarchic power. It is a great mistake to believe that the political trials and prosecutions of the National Slav Idea are a growth of yesterday, and that the trials of Zagreb, Vienna and Banjaluka were without precedent in Serbo-Croat history. And it was precisely Dalmatia which had to suffer most hardly under political persecutions, originating with the Italianizing bureaucracy, which sought to consolidate its own predominance by representing the Slav National party to Vienna as the advance guard of the Panslav and Panserb movements and as plotting to detach the Jugoslav provinces from the Austrian realm. The most notable cases of political persecution in Dalmatia were the Cavtat (Ragusavecchia) Trial in March 1861, the trial of the editorial staff of the *Narodni List* in Zara in October 1867; the prosecutions of the National leaders, foremost among them Mr. Klaić; the vexatious measures against the *Narodna Čitaonica* of Zara, found guilty

of conspiring with Garibaldi for the liberation of the Slavs from the Turkish yoke; the "bloody elections" of Spalato, Sinj and Knin; the excesses of the mob of Zara, shouting in 1876 for the Turks against the Russians, and the invective directed against Serbia and Montenegro by the *Dalmata*.

The Cavtat Trial made a profound impression throughout the Empire. The charge, which was altogether trumped up by the Bezirkshauptmann of Ragusavecchia, Agazzi, was to the effect that a group of electors had inscribed "Union of Dalmatia with Croatia" upon their programme. The nine defendants—two landed proprietors, two priests and five peasants—found an able counsel in the Venetian advocate Costi, the Dalmatian lawyers having been strictly forbidden to undertake the defence of the accused. After fifteen months of detention in custody, the accused were acquitted —mainly in consequence of a decree wrung by Slav indignation from the Vienna Cabinet.

On this occasion the Croatian Diet sent a special deputation of protest, accompanied by Mgr. Strossmayer, to Vienna.

The political authorities in Dalmatia treated the partisans of the union as traitors to the State and disturbers of the public peace, although this very union had been found desirable by the Crown itself in 1860. In 1867 the editorial staff of the *Narodni List* was arrested for publishing an article containing the following phrase: "Dalmatia, which is situated upon the Adriatic shore and must one day become the wharf of the Danubian commerce, forms part of the Triune Kingdom (Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia)." The editors Tončić, Danilo and Matić were each

sentenced to six months' imprisonment, for the offence of rousing public feeling against the existing political bond between Dalmatia and Cisleithania.

These and other political trials were instigated by the governing Autonomist party as the close ally of Vienna. In order to make it possible for an exiguous Minority to maintain its power, it was necessary to conjure up the spectre of Slavism before the eyes of the ruling Powers in Vienna.

But the climax of this disgraceful campaign was reached in 1869. In that year the highlanders of Bocche di Cattaro (called Krivošije) rebelled against the Austrian Government. Contrary to the promises made in 1814, not only to the inhabitants of Bocche di Cattaro and Ragusa but also to Tsar Alexander I, the Austrian Government desired to introduce compulsory military service, which had become law in 1868. The Krivošije demanded (1) That the conscripts called up under the new law should be exempt from the obligation of serving outside the territory of Bocche di Cattaro; (2) that after a year in barracks they might be permitted to go abroad; and (3) that they might wear the national dress instead of the Austrian military uniform.

The typically Austrian excess of zeal on the part of the political and military authorities provoked a rising, and the Austrian troops sent to quell it were repeatedly defeated in the mountains between Risano and Grahovo.

The epilogue to this insurrection did not take place until 1882, when Austria-Hungary, after suppressing a second revolt, established at enormous cost a system of fortifications between Montenegro, Herzegovina and Bocche di Cattaro. In the mean-

time the insurrection itself was quelled, thanks to the intervention of two Dalmatian deputies,[1] with the Archduke Rainer, Lieutenant-Governor of the Empire during Francis Joseph's visit to Egypt to attend the opening of the Suez Canal. The two deputies obtained the recall of the Governor of Dalmatia, General Wagner, a detested martinet, whose uncompromising attitude had helped to exasperate the population.

On 15th January, 1870, his successor, General Rodić, concluded an ignominious peace with the insurgents at Knezlaz, a village in Krivošije. Austria agreed to postpone the recruiting scheme, granted a general amnesty and approved the wearing of the national dress.

The secret history of this now forgotten insurrection has not yet been written, yet it was a symptom of the Near Eastern trouble, and the prologue to the movement for Serbian union. But there are two points which ought to be remembered. The insurrection, whether or not it was provoked by Serb irredentists, was certainly hailed with joy by Serbia, and more especially by Montenegro, whose prince secretly encouraged the insurgents while professing himself the vassal of the great neighbouring Empire. As for the Dalmatian National party, it not only had neither art nor part, directly nor indirectly, in the insurrection, but reaped a great deal of trouble from it, and even deputed two of its most influential members to pacify the insurgents.[2]

[1] Count George Vojnović and Ljubiša.

[2] It may be recalled that when Austria sent Dalmatian troops against the insurgents during the second insurrection of Bocche di Cattaro (1881–1882), Mr. Klaić, leader of the Croat National

This was only natural, since the most elementary prudence suggested that it would not do to irritate the Austrian Government and so compel it to take up a hostile attitude towards the movement for Slav emancipation in the province.

But the Italian Autonomist party could not resist the temptation of exploiting the insurrectionary movement for its own plans of predominance and the consolidation of its position in the favour of the Austrian Government—in view of a possible fresh appeal to the country.

Indeed, in the sitting of 19th October, 1869, Mr. Lapenna, chief of the Italian Autonomists, read the following declaration:

"The province is passing through a time of great trial. Southern Dalmatia is ablaze. And in this Diet, where resolutions of defiance towards the Imperial-Royal Govern-

party in Dalmatia and Deputy in the Vienna Parliament, had the courage in the Austrian Delegation to ask the joint Minister for War, "how he could justify the dispatch of Serbo-Croat troops to fight against their brothers?" This bold question produced a great impression throughout the Empire, and Mr. Klaić owed it solely to his immunity as a deputy that he was not prosecuted for high treason. It was during this second insurrection that Sir Arthur Evans, the distinguished British archæologist and zealous champion of the Jugoslav cause, at that time residing in Ragusa, was imprisoned by the Austrian military authorities. A peremptory protest from Gladstone procured his release, but the Austrian Government expelled him from Ragusa and from the Empire. In 1882 Sir Arthur Evans acted as correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*. He had been denounced to the Austrian Government as one of the instigators of the insurrection, and—since then!—a rabid enemy of Austria-Hungary. And truly, in his detestation of the Dual Monarchy, he was surpassed only by his father-in-law, the celebrated historian, Edward Freeman, and by Gladstone himself. With reference to the Jugoslav Question, see his essay *The Slavs of the Adriatic and the Continental Route to Constantinople*, read before the Royal Geographical Society in London.

ment are proposed, and petitions for the enforcement of Article XIX. are presented, an insurrection of the minds is likewise seething.[1] Those who have signed the present declaration with me have no desire to probe the intention of the promoters of the suggestions; nevertheless it is obvious that at so critical a moment they are not compatible either with good citizenship or patriotism. The majority might easily defeat them, but it has no means of preventing their discussion, or of preventing agitations capable of giving rise to great trouble in the country. That is why, with a view to declining all responsibility, the Majority prays Your Majesty to prorogue the Diet. In the meantime, the Majority quits the House, convinced that in so doing it is performing an act of patriotism, and of fidelity towards its august Sovereign."

Directly after the reading of this document—one of the most remarkable instances of sycophancy recorded in Austrian parliamentary history—the Italian Majority withdrew.

That very day the Slav Minority, by a Manifesto issued in Zara, protested proudly against the insinuation that there was any relation between the insurrection of Bocche di Cattaro and the purely parliamen-

[1] Article XIX. of the Fundamental Constitutional Law of 1867 guarantees equal rights for all nationalities in the Empire, and was included in order to mitigate the disastrous effect of the Dualism and to deceive the nationalities by a legal procedure. The Italian party ought, in its own properly conceived interests, to have promoted national concord by insisting upon the strict application of Article XIX. But conscious of representing an exiguous minority in the country, it obstinately refused to assist in the practical application of this principle of equity and justice, although expressed in a vague and inconclusive fashion. The allusion in the above-quoted declaration refers to the fact that 210 petitions bearing 4,000 signatures had been presented to the Diet (some of them by M. Pavlinović) demanding the strict enforcement of Article XIX. These petitions were never discussed, but simply pigeon-holed by the Petitions Committee, which was mainly Italian in composition.

tarian activity of the National party. The President convoked the Diet for 28th October, but only the Minority attended. Owing to the fact that the regulation number of members was not present, the Diet was prorogued by an Imperial rescript, and the new elections, as we have seen, took place before the year was out. The Italian party gained nothing by its advances to the Government: for the popular verdict finally swept away its fictitious majority.

III. We have seen that the Slav Autonomist party became transformed into an Italian party only by very slow degrees. Not until 1874, and then only very timidly, was an "Italian nationality" spoken of in Dalmatia. A scattered nucleus of certainly not more than 5,000 individuals had preserved its existence in several Dalmatian coast towns by dint of rigid exclusiveness, by an effect of intellectual snobbery. It had never taken root in the country and, nationally speaking, it was suspended in space: but at the elections its ranks were swelled—until the advent of Universal Suffrage—by elements economically dependent upon this small landowning oligarchy bound to disappear before the withering blast of popular franchise.

The truly Italian element in Dalmatia consists of a few hundred descendants of Italian immigrant families. A very few immigrated in the fourteenth century, all the rest are more recent arrivals of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Some of these—and by no means the least noble—adopted the nationality of the country in which they had made their home. The great majority of the Italo-Dalmatians are Slavs of the purest stock who,

confusing the ideas of civilization and nationality, educated abroad and in Italian surroundings, soon learn to despise the rugged and far less brilliant Slav culture of their fathers. And they call themselves Italians, because to be Italians and claim to be countrymen of Dante and Petrarch, and to imagine themselves in some kind of racial kinship with the red bands of Mazzini and Garibaldi, was not only fashionable but stamped the individual as belonging to a "superior race." Even among the fathers of these men there were several who, perhaps from personal motives, deserted from the Slav camp after having helped to found Slav literary and political societies in Zara itself.[1]

A very small number of families of Italian origin, most of them immigrants of very recent date, and the group of Young Italian Autonomists, composed chiefly of the sons of Slav fathers (Giljanović, Medović, Nakić, Božić, Smerkinić, etc.), have provided the foundation for an edifice which does not collapse simply because it was part of an amorphous and anational Empire.

The so-called Italian vote in Dalmatia is recruited chiefly from among the *Coloni*—debtors and Slav clients, who are compelled by lack of means to vote for their masters. The latter, moreover, in their presence call themselves *Slavs*, as did their fathers before them. The various societies, reading-rooms and other centres owe their existence mainly to people of no particular political conviction, unconscious

[1] In Appendix IV. the reader will find a short summary of the political life of Zara from 1848 to our own time. This account is necessarily incomplete, but we trust it will serve to dissipate the legend of the "Italian citadel" in Dalmatia.

adepts in the snobbery we have mentioned, to the numerous officials attached to the old Autonomist traditions, and to the large numbers of immigrants from the kingdom, workmen, small manufacturers, etc. Finally there is the school, this great institution which is represented to the Italian people as the lighthouse left standing after the shipwreck of Dalmatia's "Italianity," and which is, on the contrary, a paradoxical proof of the Slav nature of the country. For these Italian pupils are, for the greater part, recruited from among poor Serb and Croat children, whose parents are tempted by gifts of clothing, household utensils, etc., and by pecuniary assistance. Such parents consent to send their children to the schools of the Italian *Lega Nazionale* or the *Dante Alighieri* Society, in order to derive material advantage and incidentally to provide their children with "an extra language." Meantime, out of school, the children speak only Serbo-Croat among themselves. Meanwhile it is significant that certain families of truly Italian origin and sentiment prefer to send their children to the Serbo-Croat schools, thereby showing their realization of the true situation, and the futility of their Dantesque pose.[1]

Signor Barzilai was right when he affectionately exhorted the Adriatic Irredentists not to, forget the services of the *Dante Alighieri* Society.

"The latter," wrote the Irredentist Deputy, "has for years provided material and moral support for the un-

[1] In the session of the Diet of 1903, Dr. Trumbić, Deputy for Spalato, produced a list of the names of children attending the school of the *Lega Nazionale* in Spalato. From this list it transpired that the scholars were called Duplančić, Trumbić, Razmilović, etc.; all being sons of poor Slavs living in the suburbs of the town.

fortunate Italian lands whose liberty, language, customs and soul Austria has combated by every kind of device, and furnished them with the means of saving their name and character, and their faith in their own destiny and ours."

It is indeed true that without the large subsidies of the *Dante Alighieri*, the schools of the *Lega Nazionale* would have never arisen in the Slav towns of Dalmatia. For instance, it would have been impossible to raise 15,000 crowns by a ball given by the *Lega Nazionale* in Zara, a town of 14,000 inhabitants, mostly officials. Nor would its Zara branch alone have been able to collect 56,810 crowns in the single year of 1912.

All these exotic features will disappear as if by magic and without compulsion on the day when the Serbo-Croat nation is its own master and when Dalmatia re-enters the community of Slav nations. The beneficent influence of Italian culture will certainly continue to assert itself so long as it abstains from encroaching upon the Slav soul of the country; but the artificial propaganda, the ultimate product of the Austrian system, will sink into oblivion, to the great advantage of the good name of the Italian people and its civilizing mission in Eastern Europe. And after the collapse of this edifice, reared on a confusion between culture and nationality, Jugoslav democracy will be able to inaugurate a broad-minded and generous policy.

The Slavs of Dalmatia would certainly not feel inclined to accord extraordinary privileges to this handful of Italians, were they not fully conscious of the fundamental difference between civilization and nationality. Not as a *right*, but for the sake of the high value of Italian civilization, to which

the Dalmatian people owes so much of its own national development, the sovereign people of Dalmatia would wish to preserve within just limits the use of the Italian language and the study of Italian history and literature. Without special protection, however, these would certainly perish.

In the early years of the twentieth century, the struggle gradually lost its initial violence. Passions were allayed, and a new generation was glad to forget the bitter fights that raged more particularly in Zara between 1880 and 1900, and preferred to remember the golden days from '60 to '66, when the Fathers of the Slav Risorgimento had eloquently formulated not only the rights of the nation, but its grateful respect for a culture which can and must continue its beneficent mission as the incentive and faithful companion of the Jugoslav thought.

And what was there to prevent the possibility of a peaceable understanding between the Italianist Minority and the Slav Majority? No foreign element interfered between the sons of one nation. Sundered by no ethnical or political gulfs, but by a simple misunderstanding which had lost its significance in face of the rapid development of the Jugoslav national conscience, the Dalmatians of both parties had a clear field before them. There was no Italian irredentism in Dalmatia. This plant, as we have seen, never succeeded in taking root in Dalmatian soil. And this is the primary, the dominant and decisive fact which, supported by masses of evidence, pointed out the way to an understanding Therefore it was not only expedient but just that every possible concession compatible with the uncontested Slav national sovereignty should be made

in favour of that Italian culture which is so beloved and even revered in Dalmatia.

From the numerous instances of these Liberal views of the Slav Majority, I will only quote the following. During the session which preceded the European War, the Slav Majority (thirty-six Slavs against six Italians, elected by restricted franchise) decided to request the Imperial Government that the degrees taken by Dalmatians at Italian universities should be recognized in Austria. This motion was bound up with another demand of old standing, that the degrees taken by Dalmatians at the Croat University of Zagreb should be recognized in Austria, Zagreb, in virtue of the Dualist system of the Monarchy, being considered a foreign university. Till quite recently the Government obstinately refused to recognize the degrees obtained by Cisleithanians at an institution which bears the name of the "Francis Joseph University," belonging to a State forming part of the same Monarchy. The refusal of the Government was one more obvious proof of the obvious fear on the part of the Austrian Government lest a closer union should be established between the members of one and the same nation. It also provided a fresh and eloquent refutation of the legend current in Italy that the Jugoslav nation enjoyed the protection of Austria! By demanding equal recognition for the Italian and Croatian degrees, the Slav Majority was risking its chances of success with regard to the Croatian degrees, since it is obviously easier to obtain concessions in a purely internal matter than in one of international bearing. The essential point is that the Majority did not stand in need of the six Italian votes in order to pass the

motion concerning the Zagreb degrees. Its object was to appeal to the whole Diet, regardless of party distinction, to present a united front to the German invasion. At the same time, moved by a generous and idealistic impulse, it desired to confer native rights upon Italian culture in Dalmatia.

At one moment the Italian party appeared to understand the motives of the Slavs, but unfortunately only for a moment. Inconsolable at having lost the absolute and oligarchic control over six hundred thousand Dalmato-Slavs, the party returned to its negative policy of coquetting with the German Austrians, and continued to fill the world through the medium of the *Neue Freie Presse* with lamentations over an imaginary oppression. The Slav party, however, did not give up the idea of conciliation.

In 1905, Deputy Smodlaka, leader of the young but vigorous Democratic party in Dalmatia, voiced the feelings of all Dalmatians by offering peace to the Italo-Dalmatians in the following words:

"This country is a Slav country, and we are all bound to fight for its national and political rights (a declaration almost identical with Bajamonti's). Once this principle is admitted, it will be easy to come to an understanding with the Italians for the preservation, within just limits, of the Italian language."

In keeping with these generous words, a first great result was obtained in 1910 by the agreement regarding the use of Italian in the centres of the Dalmatian littoral. The agreement was signed by several Italian party leaders who are to-day fighting in the ranks of those who refuse to accord the Dalmatian people the right of free self-determination.

The lessons of 1905—the year of reconciliation between the Serbs and Croats and of *rapprochement* between the Italian party and the Serbo-Croat Coalition ; of 1908, the year of the great awakening of the Serb Idea, provoked by Austria's rape of Bosnia-Herzegovina ; of 1912, the year of the Balkan resurrection, which was hailed in Dalmatia as the dawn of the victory of the principle of union—are so great and so manifold that the conflicts which we have summarized in these pages, must henceforth belong to past history.

But there is one thing which does not belong to history, or rather is an eternal part of it—like a fruitful reality linking the past with the present and future, and interwoven with the web of Dalmatian life. This is the Idea, the National Conscience, the belief in the indissoluble and sacred ties that bind Dalmatia to the Slav thought, to the cause of Serbo-Croat Independence and Unity.

To this dominant idea, revealed as by fitful flashes of light throughout the centuries, and consecrated by the voice of the people during a long succession of legislative sessions, I propose to devote—from a different aspect—the concluding chapter.

CHAPTER VI

Serbo-Croat policy in the Habsburg Monarchy—Split in the Slav National party—Clericals and Liberals—Unanimous proclamation of the national unity of the Serb and Croat race—Attitude of Bajamonti—His declarations on the Serbo-Balkan position—Political differences between Serbs and Croats—Croatia and Serbia in the past—Joint action of Serbs and Croats in historical crises—Croats and Serbs in the Battle of Kosovo (1389)—Serbo-Croat union in 1848—Bishop Strossmayer—The Slav liturgy in Dalmatia—Serbo-Croat tribute to the Ragusan poet Gundulić, the prophet of National unity (1892)—National ballads in Dalmatia—Migrations and interminglings—Decisive influence of Serbia on the Jugoslav movement under Prince Michael Obrenović (1866)—Moral adhesion of Dalmatia—Serbo-Croat Unionist programme outlined in the Florentine review, *Nuova Antologia*, by Count Orsato Pozza (1866)—Indifferent or hostile attitude of New Italy towards the Jugoslav movement—The voice of the dead.

In view of the condition of the Habsburg Monarchy from 1860 to 1914, the Dalmatian people, represented by an overwhelming Majority both in the Diet of the kingdom and in the Central Parliament in Vienna, had to choose between two courses. It could either follow the line of compromise with the actual state of affairs in the Monarchy, or it could choose that of uncompromising Radicalism and consistent parliamentary abstention, as practised for a short time by the Czech National party under the leadership of Ladislas Rieger. The Majority preferred the quieter and more conven-

tional path, rather than join in a supreme effort of all the Slavs in the Empire to enforce the transformation of the pernicious Dualist system into a sane Federalism. Still, in the minds of the members of the National party, every party, every programme tending to re-group in one political unit the lands of kindred race and identical speech existing within the boundaries of the Empire, was looked upon as a minimum programme, a mere stage on the road towards a greater national unification. This line of evolutionary tactics found a fierce opponent, both in Croatia and Dalmatia, in the Clerical party, which desired to see the union between these two countries adopted as the final solution. This section, led by Pavlinović in Dalmatia and by Starčević in Croatia, laboured with all its might to eliminate the powerful Serbo-Orthodox wing from the National party. Before the eyes of the Croats it conjured up the mirage of an Autonomous Kingdom under Habsburg Sovereignty, a kind of Jugoslav Poland, which, by attracting all the Catholic elements of the nation, would oppose a solid front to Orthodoxy as represented by the independent Balkan Principality of Serbia. But even if this solution had been realized by the much mooted Habsburg Trialism, it would certainly not have stifled the movement towards unification; for it embodied an altogether too ingenuous attempt to divide the soul of a people and to separate it forcibly from the more vigorous and more democratic section of the race. But it might have retarded the union, and for at least a generation realized the Magyar-German ideal of a system of Slav Marches as bulwarks against Russia—under the auspices of Berlin.

Fortunately Austria, after the Battle of Sadowa, showed herself persistently hostile to any kind of solution of the Serbo-Croat problem by granting autonomy. The Germano-Magyar Dual system applied itself all the more energetically to the task of frustrating every attempt at union between the different members of the same race. The intentions attributed to the Austrian heir-apparent of rallying the Jugoslavs under the black-and-yellow banner, were cut short by a Serbian revolver, and with the Serbo-Austrian War of 1914 the fatal problem passed from the Chancelleries, the Parliamentary clubs and Law Courts to the blood-drenched battlefields of a Europe in arms.

From the moment when Serbian statesmen realized the peril to which the idea of unification was exposed by the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina (1908), they fiercely opposed the new Croat programme, which differed so greatly from the programme adopted by the two races in 1861.

Once annexed to Austria-Hungary, Bosnia-Herzegovina, it was thought, could not fail, thanks to the fanatical propaganda of the Catholic clergy, to press Serbia back across the Drina, perhaps for ever. Serbia would continue to vegetate in a round of futile parochial feuds, her mentality and the spirit of her administration becoming more and more Orientalized; and in the end she would be bound to follow the rest of the Serbo-Croat lands into Austro-Hungarian vassalage and would fall with them, a victim to the *Drang nach Osten.*

In the Croat wing of the National party there were a few clear-sighted individuals, deeply imbued with the purely Slav Idea, who rebelled from the

outset against this course. In the very year of the Congress of Berlin and the occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Klaić wrote from Ragusa (20th January, 1878) to Biankini:

"We are not going to oppose the occupation, as we cannot hinder it if it has really been decreed by the Powers. But we must adopt a passive attitude towards this event until we see what it may bring forth. If the annexation is carried out in a national sense, i.e. with the object of liberating the population and uniting it with ourselves, we shall approve of it; but even in that case we shall not applaud it. But if the annexation of Bosnia is simply to bear the Austrian hall-mark, if it is to be an *Austrian* enterprise, we shall raise our voices; in other words, we shall deplore the disappearance of Turkish rule."

But these lofty ideas of the leader of the Slav Majority in Dalmatia were not shared by the whole of the Croat party. Under the influence of Austro-Magyar agents, the Croats of Starčević's party even applauded the occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and its annexation (then believed to be imminent) as the final act of a Croat evolution, destined to raise a half-clerical, half-national barrier against the influence of Orthodox Serbia. But while this struggle—the deplorable heritage of the past—was yet proceeding, the minds of the two opposing groups were already subconsciously beginning to harbour the idea of the new age, the idea of Unity, as it had already been conceived by many distinguished personalities of Serbia, Dalmatia and Croatia.

The great Croat historian Rački wrote:

"The Croats say frankly to the Serbs: 'We are not troubled by dreams of supremacy. You cannot speak of supremacy as regard the different sections of one people.

If you feel yourselves able to achieve the necessary action, do it, and we shall all follow you. The Drina lies before you: God bless your banners when they cross it with you!'"

And at the time when the struggle against the forces protected by the Vienna Camarilla was at its height, Thaddeus Smičiklas, the second President of the Jugoslav Academy in Zagreb (founded by the great Bishop Strossmayer), did not hesitate to declare:

"The Serbs and Croats are one people. This supreme principle is reverenced by all sons of our nation, and the national ideal must find its loftiest expression in political unity."

This programme of Unity in its integrity, which was imperilled by projects for a separate Croatia, was stoutly upheld by a Serb Catholic party in Ragusa and Spalato. The idea of "nationality independent of creed" formed the programme of this party, which in 1902 saw the more or less international triumph of its principles, when the Holy See endorsed the Jugoslav standpoint in the matter of the College of St. Jerome.[1]

[1] To identify the Croat element with Catholicism and the Serb with Orthodoxy, has always been the fundamental principle of the strategy of *divide et impera* as applied by Austria to our race. In 1901 the Holy See was invited to range itself on the side of those politicians who advocated the division of the Serbo-Croat people into Catholic and Orthodox, Occidentals and Orientals. Upon the suggestion of several Croatian bishops, led by the fanatically Austrophil Archbishop of Sarajevo, Mgr. Stadler, Pope Leo XIII, by his brief *Slavorum Gentem*, transformed the *Illyrian* College of St. Jerome in Rome (founded in the fifteenth century for the benefit of pilgrims from Dalmatia, Croatia, Bosnia and the Serbian diocese of Antivari) into a *Croat* college. This action greatly disturbed the Serbs. Montenegro, which was bound by a con-

The Serbian papers *Srpski List*, of Zara, and the *Dubrovnik*, of Ragusa, waged a radical campaign against the separatist programme. To the arguments of a narrow parochialism they opposed the wider vision of the past, common to both sections of the nation. It was the eternal struggle of centripetal against centrifugal tendencies, the struggle of Unionism against Autonomism, transplanted among the unionist champions of yesterday. The truth is, that, fundamentally, both political parties desired the same thing. The over-development of the parochial ego was bound to lead to the realization of identity of blood, language and aspirations in the two parts of one whole. The struggle reduced itself to a conflict between two tactics, invested with a spurious appearance of inherent incompatibility as between two worlds by the latent and implacable duel between the *Drang nach Osten*, and Serbia's policy of national emancipation. The non-existence of this conflict became fully apparent

cordate to the Holy See, intervened diplomatically. The conflict developed into a struggle between Austria as the propagandist of Germanism, and therefore desirous of a Croatia separate from the Serb people, and embracing Serb regions to act as her vanguard in the Balkans, and Serbia and Montenegro, both at that time in favour of Serb unity and determined (supported by France and Russia) that the Holy See should recognize the Illyrian, i.e. the Serbo-Croat (Jugoslav) character of the College of St. Jerome.

The Serb States gained their point. The Holy See was prevailed upon to re-establish the Serbo-Croat character of the college, and to recognize the existence of *Catholic Serbs*, and thus—indirectly—Serbo-Croat national unity. (Convention of 7th March, 1902, signed in the name of Montenegro by the author, and in the name of the Holy See by Cardinal Rampolla.)

This success scored by Serb diplomacy against Austrian was not the least of the reasons for the *exclusive* opposed by Austria to Cardinal Rampolla at the Conclave of 1903.

on the day when Serbs and Croats realized their brotherhood and once more presented a united front to the common foe, as in 1848. The day when the nation realized that a great Croatian Kingdom, or a great Serbian Kingdom, merely represented two aspects of one and the same problem, the one and only danger to German penetration, on that day the Jugoslav Idea was reborn for the second time, and that finally and definitely.

The year 1903 saw the reconciliation of the Serbs and Croats. The former agreed to the programme of union with Croatia and the latter solemnly proclaimed the identity of both as regards nationality and aspirations. The policy of progress by stages triumphed once more in Dalmatia as in Croatia, reinforced by a closer understanding between the two branches of the nation. Austria, badly thrown out of her course, and the Magyars and Germans, who felt that their supremacy was seriously endangered by this move, declared war to the knife upon the new *entente*. Already in 1903 the united Serbs and Croats inflicted an unbroken series of electoral defeats upon the Governments of Vienna and Budapest, and in no Serbo-Croat country was the proclamation of the intimate union of the Serbs and Croats hailed more loyally or more enthusiastically than in Dalmatia. Nor could it be otherwise. During the patriotic reign of Prince Michael Obrenović, the eyes of all Dalmatia and of the sister provinces were turned towards little Serbia, for all that she was still a vassal of the Ottoman Empire! How well I remember the Serbophil gatherings of our fathers in my young days, the cult of the Kosovo ballads, full of exuberant pro-

mises of reconquest and union; those pictures of Serbian kings, from the Grand Župan Nemanja to Michael Obrenović, jealously guarded in many households of Spalato, Sebenico and Zara; the inflammatory articles in the *Nazionale*; the echo throughout the Dalmatian littoral of Pavlinović's great speech in Lesina on 10th March, 1868, in the days before the Clerical leader had become a convert to the theory of a Jugoslav Poland.

"The Serbs," said Pavlinović, "are brothers of the Croats. In spite of a few distinctions which it is idle to disguise, the Serbs and the Croats are at bottom one single nation. Croatian rights have evolved the Triune Kingdom (Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia), which represents a powerful lever for progress. Without ulterior motives, the Croats are making their Serbian kinsmen sharers in their rights. By defending Croatian rights against the attacks of the other non-Slav nationalities, we Croats and Serbs will form the surest bulwarks of the Principality of Serbia. Nevertheless Serbia will always remain the hearth of that movement which will not cease until the day when its final object has been attained, and the war against the Turks will be neither the most perilous nor the last of its phases."

The events of 1914 could not have been foreshadowed more clearly in 1868—and in an Austrian Dalmatia!

Ten years later, Klaić echoed these sentiments, speaking at a time when the conflict between Serbs and Croats over their political programmes was at its height.

"As for me," he said in the sitting of 20th January, 1877, "the two nationalities—the Serb and the Croat—do not exist, but only two off-shoots of one and the same nation, which is looking forward to an undivided glorious

future under the sacred banner of liberty (applause). Whoever would create two nationalities with divergent aspirations within the bosom of our country, would in the end transform both of them into the slaves of foreign guile and violence" (frantic applause).[1]

Even Bajamonti's policy bears out the spontaneous character of these manifestations. The brilliant Mayor of Spalato, whose intense susceptibility made him, up to the time of his defection from the Liberal camp, the faithful echo of popular feeling, maintained the necessity of a direct railway connection between Spalato and Belgrade, and became the most enthusiastic supporter of the scheme. Thereby Bajamonti will always be remembered in Balkan history as one of the pioneers, if not the originator, of the project for linking up the Danube with the Adriatic, against which the forces of Austro-Hungarian diplomacy were marshalled for decades. Bajamonti applied personally at Vienna, Belgrade and Constantinople for authorization of the preliminary steps. It is not without interest to note that the Serbian Government immediately consented; the Porte requested time for consideration; Austria flatly refused, "because important political and strategic motives are opposed to it." Bajamonti caused an allegory to be played on the stage of the Municipal Theatre, representing "Dal-

[1] In the revised programme of the Majority in the Diet (8th June, 1875) Article I runs as follows: The club will promote the realization of the *National principle* and stand strongly upon the Croatian right, by which it will procure the union of Dalmatia with Croatia and Slavonia. Under the protection of this public right the Croats and Serbs of Dalmatia, forming one single nation, will enjoy equal rights. There is no nationality besides theirs recognized in Dalmatia.

matia, inspired by the aspect of a fair lady in rich attire, of sedate appearance and noble mien and representing Civilization, extends her hand to a young maiden, prostrate on the ground, in ragged garments, but of a sturdy build; and with a glad look of understanding Dalmatia places the right hand of the matron in that of the youthful maiden" (Serbia). Here we have Tommasèo's poetry! The memorial fountain on the sea-front of Spalato represents a beautiful youth poised on a pedestal of conch-shells. He symbolizes the concord of all parties, his face turned towards "beloved Serbia, reserved for glorious destinies in the not too distant future," and as with his right hand he "points to the glorious highlands that constitute the Balkan Peninsula, he seems to say, with steadfast glance and the gentle accents of intense affection, "See, my Spalato, there lies thy future (thus again Tommasèo's poetry!). Gather up thy strength, unite thy factions, multiply thy means of action and take thy place among thy brothers, enterprise and civilization are thy share in the common work." [1]

Although these significant declarations were subsequently belied by the attitude assumed by the Autonomist party and by Bajamonti himself towards the end of his political career, they nevertheless remain an irrefragable proof of the true orientation of the Dalmatian spirit, of the spontaneity and *priority* of these demonstrations in which all parties bore their share. The Austrian Government mobilized the whole of its bureaucratic apparatus against

[1] Cf. the publications concerning the theatre of Spalato and the monumental fountain, published on behalf of Dr. Antonio Bajamonti, Spalato, 1870.

them. It persecuted the Slav National party, which was several times accused of high treason; nor did it rest until it had induced the prodigal son of Spalato to re-enter the ranks of its faithful majority, abjuring his "Panslav dreams" and entanglements with the obnoxious Slav party.[1]

[1] In November 1880, in consequence of a brawl between civilians and soldiers, the Taaffe Cabinet decreed the dissolution of the Municipal Council of Spalato. It was indeed high time! Overwhelmed from all sides, anxious to re-establish his wavering authority and exaggerating the neo-Italianism of the Autonomist party (which finally ruined him in the eyes of his own municipal electors), Bajamonti was nothing more than a living anachronism, political flotsam. He had become more and more subservient to that party which was labouring in Vienna to undermine the regime favourable to the Slavs, and straining every nerve to bring the Monarchy back to the good old times of Schmerling's Centralism. Austrian Germans and Dalmatian Italians went hand in hand. (Not an isolated phenomenon. In Gorica it is only, thanks to their alliance with the Germans, that the Italians were able to gain a majority in the Municipal Council.) The Mayor of Spalato could no longer maintain himself in power, save by a municipal wine-pot policy and fantastic electoral juggling. His prestige was gone. The common people, who did not understand a word of Italian, deserted after having idolized him. The anomaly of a large and entirely Slav municipality ruled by an oligarchy, which, while declaring itself Slav for the sake of the popular vote, nevertheless carried on a quasi-Venetian regime, had become inexplicable. The new elections took place in July 1882. Of the thirty-six town councillors elected, thirty were Croats and only six Autonomists. Since then the municipality of Spalato has been entirely Slav, like the rest of the Dalmatian municipalities, with the exception of Zara. (The why and wherefore of this exception are given n Appendix IV.)

Far from having desired this change, the Austrian Government —and that in spite of Bajamonti's anti-Taaffian policy—had only decided upon it in pure self-defence, propelled by the tide of Slavism. Vienna was not over-anxious to see a young and vigorous Slavia, energetically demanding the union of Dalmatia with Croatia and Bosnia, installed in place of a decrepit, superannuated party, prepared to make any concessions and amenable to orders from the Central Government, provided it was in return

given *carte blanche* by the Government to run the affairs of the province in opposition to the will of the overwhelming majority in the country.

To these internal political reasons must be added certain considerations of foreign policy.

Before the war Austria never looked upon Italy as a very formidable power. The question of the Vatican, the party tied between Rome and Berlin, and, later on, the Triple Alliance, Crispi's anti-French policy, the chronic military unpreparedness of Italy, the arrogance of the Viennese aristocracy, and the mentality of the Austrian bureaucracy suffice to explain this feeling of security, coupled with a slight contempt on the part of the ancient Monarchy towards the young kingdom. Moreover, Italy gave cause for this estimate in Viennese circles by her complaisant and obliging attitude, by the efforts she made to cause her democratic and revolutionary origin to be forgotten by assiduously frequenting the aristocratic and reactionary *salons* of the Danubian capital. (And herein lies one more reason for Italian contempt of the Slavs, the heritage of this long association with Austrians and Magyars, and unknown to the generation of the Risorgimento.)

The clamour of the Italian irredentists who, despite Bajamonti, identified the Dalmatian autonomist cause with their own, left Vienna cold. It was not until much later, when the advance upon Salonica and Scutari was decided upon in Vienna, that Austria thought herself bound to cajole Italy with a platonic compensation, viz., the inviolability of the pro-Italian municipality of Zara, with its "Italian" town councillors, Nakić, Medović, Božić, Giljanović, etc.

The danger from Russia was far more real, permanent and immediate. The Slav current, swelled by tributary forces coming from the great Slav protectress in the north, constantly threatened to carry all before it. The Empire of the Tsars was a bugbear. By the mere passive existence of this gigantic Empire, the secret weaknesses of which were not yet known, the Slavs of Austria were rendered dangerous. At the very least—and thanks to the Czech agitation—a Federalist movement was to be feared. The Dalmatian Italians, clinging desperately to the German Consti-

DALMATIA AND THE JUGOSLAV MOVEMENT

The more than deplorable dissension between the Serbs and Croats which lasted for over twenty years (1878–1903) and was then dissipated by the revolutionary power of events, had its origin in the erroneous belief that there were two nationalities, both Slav, but distinct from each other, in much

the same way as the Russians and Poles, following opposite ideals, living two separate lives and coupled together only in the minds of a few fanatics, the more or less unconscious instruments of the everlasting Austro-Russian animosity. Nothing could be more mistaken than this assumption which was deliberately spread from the tainted springs of Vienna and Budapest, which still supply even generous Italy with much of her information concerning the Slav world.

The Serbo-Croat difference was a purely political matter. It bore no national aspect. It was brought about by the historical divorce of the two branches of the nation and by their belonging the one to the Western and the other to the Eastern Church (though there are Orthodox Croats as well as Catholic Serbs). Both these facts are due to the circumstance that fate placed the Serbo-Croat nation at the meeting-place of two worlds, which incidentally explains the eagerness of the Germans to secure a passage to the East over the dead body of our nation. Between the Russians and the Poles—both profoundly Slav, though differing greatly from one another—these two cardinal facts have raised a well-nigh insurmountable barrier. But the psychology of Serbo-Croat Unity has really been less influenced by them, than the individual branches

tutional party (*die verfassungstreue Partei*), led by Plener and Herbst, would always have opposed *that*. They would have given their faithful support even to a Taaffe Cabinet, only to lay the spectre of Federalism. The Italians had nothing to gain by a federal Austria, in which the great Czech statesman Palacky only assigned them the Trentino. Thus it was Vienna's interest to protect the pro-Italian Autonomists of Dalmatia against the Slavs, just the same as in 1860 and 1874. But the Slav movement had grown, and Vienna had to yield.

of the German race by divergencies of a far more superficial order.[1]

The essential unity of the Serbo-Croat nation, so-called from its two principal branches, has always been maintained by all who were devoted to the cult of the common language. Nevertheless the Serbs and the Croats and the two countries to which they have given their name, form only a small part of the national heritage and, like Bavaria, Prussia, Saxony and Hanover, they are only parts of a nation. It is true that in the Middle Ages the two branches formed two distinct States. But the formation of several States by one nation was by no means an uncommon phenomenon in the Middle Ages. And even now there exist two Serbian States, not kept apart by religious difference, which nevertheless have remained separate to this day, because they have not yet arrived at the necessary degree of political maturity nor at the kind of historic crisis which breaks down every barrier and forces two political entities into immediate union. Nevertheless nobody would quote the political disjunction of the

[1] All manner of subtle separatist arguments have been adduced to prove that an "abyss" separates the Serbs from the Croats. The histories of Italy and Germany show how thorny is the path towards the unity of a people. I would draw the attention of my readers to the following passage, quoted from Mazzini's *Autobiographical Notes*: "In 1826 and 1827 Guerazzi had already written *I Bianchi e i Neri* and *La Battaglia di Benevento*. And, nevertheless, his very name was unknown in Genoa. So complete was the separation between one province and another belonging to one and the same country." People should call to mind the great distances which, owing to the lack of direct communication, to this day cut off Serbia from Dalmatia, and even the latter from Croatia (not to mention the cordons of police stretched between the individual Jugoslav lands), in order to arrive at a just estimate of the huge strides made towards the unification of Serbo-Croat literature, since 1830.

Serbo-Croat lands—which was due to the tragic circumstances of the age—as an argument to deny their unity and common aspirations. It is only those ethnic powers which have hitherto based their own usurping and oppressive dominion upon their dismemberment and intend to go on doing so in the future.

Croatia had her dynasty of native princes at the time of the struggle between the Papal See and the Empire. Towards the end of the eleventh century she entered into a treaty with the Kings of Hungary, whereby the latter became sovereigns of Croatia also. The development of the Kingdom of Serbia, on the other hand, coincided with the era of the great Gothic cathedrals in Italy, with the rise of the Italian city Republics. It was the age of Dante and Petrarch, and Serbia's greatest sovereigns were contemporaries of the great Doges of the thirteenth century. Dante makes mention of Serbia. His rebuke of her kings (better known in those days as Kings of Rasha) for having "forged the coin of Venice" (*Paradiso* xix. 140) is evidence of the fame of Serbia in those days and of her struggle against Venetian influence and commerce. Croatia, on the other hand, passes before the vision of the divine poet in the gracious guise of the pilgrim prostrate in St. Peter's, lost in ecstatic contemplation of the mystic veil:

"From the far North,[1] as one who journeys down
The Kerchief of Veronica to see,
Who, yet unsated—such its great renown—
Still stands a-gazing and says inwardly,
'Jesus, my Lord, Thou Christ, God's only Son,
And was thy look such in reality?'"

Paradiso xxxi. 103–109.

[1] "From *Croatia*," in the original.

For a short time the Serbian realm rose to the rank of an Empire, courted by the powerful Republic of Venice and by Rome. At one time the Serbian Monarchy included Bosnia and Croatia as far as the Slavonian plains and the fertile hills of Syrmia; at another it extended over Dalmatia, annexed Cattaro and allied itself with Ragusa, which on two occasions welcomed the Emperor Stephen IV—the Tsar Dušan of the national ballads —within its walls.

Within this realm Bosnia, like another Duchy of Burgundy, disputed the leadership of our race with Serbia. The Bans of Bosnia eventually assumed the royal crown and styled themselves "Rex Croatia, Dalmatiæ et Serviæ." They extended their realm up to the very gates of Spalato, and were in so far precursors of the numerous Bosnian and Herzegovinian noble families which settled later on in Dalmatia in the days of the Turkish invasion during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[1]

Croatia, now a vassal of the Kings of Hungary, rent by dynastic feuds in which the common people took no interest, seemed lost to the national horizon. Not so lost, however, but that she came to Serbia's aid on the field of Kosovo (1389), where

[1] Besides the partial attempts of the native princes of Croatia and the wider enterprise of the Serbian Emperor Dušan (Stephen Uroš IV), our history records two other distinct attempts at a political centralization of the various branches of the Jugoslav race, both of which foundered owing to the Centralist tendencies of the non-Slav races. In the early part of our history Ljudevit Posavski (819–822) raised the Slav peoples against the Franks and for several years united the Pannonian Croats, the Slovenes and the Danubian Serbs under his leadership; so that he ruled over all the Jugoslav lands from the sources of the Sava to the mouth of the Timok. Several centuries later Ban (subsequently

the flower of Croatia's knighthood and her Ban perished gloriously beside the flower of Serbia's nobility.

Nor does the Battle of Kosovo furnish the only historical instance of Serbo-Croat unity. On countless occasions the Serbo-Croat race acted jointly in all the great manifestations and crises of the national Ego. In these pages I have rather dwelt upon the war of 1848, of which Cavour had so profound a comprehension. I would also like to draw attention to the Serbo-Croat demonstrations between 1860 and 1868, that era of fruitful and joint political and intellectual effort in the lands between the Drave, the Save and on the Adriatic. Against a background of Congresses, Diets and festivals, which before the fatal day of Sedan seemed the prelude of a peaceful and conclusive solution of the Jugoslav problem, moves the grand figure of Bishop Strossmayer, like the personified idea of Union. He was the herald of Jugoslavdom, which owes to him its first official consecration; he was the prophet of Serbo-Croat union, the princely Mæcenas and brilliant orator, who endowed the Capital of Croatia with an Academy of Science and Art, upon which he bestowed the title of Jugoslav

King) Tvrtko of Bosnia (*d.* 1391) conquered part of Croatia, as well as Dalmatia from Sebenico to Spalato, assumed the title of King of Croatia and Dalmatia, had himself crowned "King of the Serbs, of Bosnia and the Maritime Regions," and was recognized as such by the Republics of Venice and Ragusa. The idea of politically unifying these territories, which are akin in blood and language, is therefore, as we see, the deeply rooted growth of centuries; it is not a modern political fad, although the enemies of Slavdom would like to represent it in this light to the Allied Powers. (Cf. Historical Introduction.)

Academy (1866), with a University (1874), and an Art Gallery (1882).

The last named represents a magnificent collection of altar-pieces and pictures of almost all the Italian schools, from Giotto to Titian, which he, moved by his love of art and with the idea of preserving the light of Latin civilization in the Southern Slav lands, generously presented to the nation.[1] I want to remind my readers of the struggle for the sacred heritage of the Slav apostles Cyril and Method, the Slav liturgy which, in spite of fierce opposition on the part of the Austrian Government, is still celebrated in Dalmatia, where the prelacy is entirely Slav.[2] The Chapel of SS. Cyril and Method in St. Clement's in Rome has been the mute witness of countless Slav ceremonies, of acts of piety and patriotism on the part of pilgrims from Dalmatia, Croatia, the Slovene lands and Istria, who have prostrated themselves before the image of the Christ, with one hand raised in benediction, while the other holds the open volume of the Book,

[1] The great Bishop also insisted on subscribing the munificent sum of 120,000 francs to Bajamonti's Dalmatian Association.

[2] The fact that the seven Dalmatian bishops—the Archbishop of Zara and the Bishops of Sebenico, Spalato, Makarska (suffragan) of the Isles (whose seat is in Lesina), of Ragusa and Cattaro—are all of them Slavs, affords incontestable proof that the Holy See considers Dalmatia a purely Slav land. As a matter of fact, if the Holy See considered even one of the seven dioceses—I will not even say mainly Italian, but simply mixed—it would certainly not have hesitated to appoint at least one Italian bishop among the seven. But there is no such diocese in Dalmatia. Indeed, there is not so much as one Italian parish.

Although we have had certain Italianizing bishops in Dalmatia in the 'seventies and 'eighties (such as Mgr. de Maupas, Archbishop of Zara, and Mgr. Fosco, Bishop of Spalato), they were, in spite of themselves, compelled to recognize the Slav character of Dalmatia.

upon which the hand of an Italian artist has traced Slav texts in Slav characters.[1]

Then there was the Ragusan Festival of 1892, at the time when political discord between the Serbs and Croats was most acute, and the whole nation united in enthusiastic homage to the poet Ivan Gundulić, by celebrating the tercentenary of his birth. On this memorable occasion, Dalmatia invited to Ragusa the representatives of all countries Serb and Croat, from Cetinje to Zagreb, from Fiume to Belgrad. King Alexander's tribute to the national bard was a wreath of flowers gathered on Kosovo Field; the Prince of Montenegro sent a representative, every choral and athletic society sent delegates, and this gathering was a veritable plebiscite for the union, in spite of the political conflicts of which we had an echo even during the festival. The whole celebration was so spontaneous and general, that Austria grew suspicious, and conceived the brilliant idea of sending the Governor of Dalmatia in hot haste to Ragusa to overpower the perfume of the flowers of Kosovo by offering a garland of yellow and black ribbons to the poet of Jugoslav Unity!

Then there were the Zagreb and Vienna Trials, the Congresses, the outbursts of popular enthusiasm in Sebenico, Spalato, Ragusa and Cattaro over the victories of the Serbian armies at Kumanovo and Prilep. It was a remote echo, but expressive of the same idealism as that which animated the enthusiasts for the liberation of their Serbian brothers

[1] Cf. the author's article on Bishop Strossmayer in the September–October issue, 1919, of the *New World* (Simpkin, Marshall). Cf. also App. IV on the Slav Liturgy.

in 1875, when the Serbo-Croat Committee of Zara corresponded with Garibaldi, through Galli, Member of the Italian Parliament.

But it was the national ballad poetry, the song of the great catastrophe of Kosovo—the fatal plain where in this war for the fourth time the fate of the Serbo-Croat nation was decided—which, during the age-long night of the Ottoman slavery, was the badge and palladium of both races, the bond of union, the indestructible symbol of National Unity and faith in Resurrection. Sundered by the barrier of blood traced by the Ottoman sword, sundered by the barrier of police of that other Empire which excelled even the Turk in perfidy, inasmuch as it was the systematic persecutor of the soul of the nation, which the Turk never attempted to attack; sundered by military cordons, by agrarian regimes and differences of creed, by superimposed civilizations, by ceaseless efforts to bring about their moral dissolution and denationalization, the Serbo-Croats never ceased to give the philosopher and historian cause to ponder and to stand amazed at the tenacity with which they kept alive the national thought and the belief in their own destiny.

By a miracle of tradition the national ballads, the cycles of Kosovo, Dušan and Marko Kraljević, the lament for lost greatness and the song of hope that one day the Serbs and Croats will yet reconquer the sacred spots which they have lost and been forced to yield to the stranger, spread and multiplied in endless variations throughout all the territory inhabited by the two brother races. They crossed the famous "impassable" Dinaric Alps; guarded

by the hosts of the blind, they forded rivers, torrents and lakes, they invaded open towns and fortified cities alike, they descended from Novigrad and Obrovac to Zara and Spalato and their surroundings; they took possession of the most inaccessible mountain passes and the most difficult bridges. The many-voiced invisible song cast its spell over countless generations of men who returned from their contact with the denationalized noble, feudal seignior or Turkish aga, and lived and laughed in their fields, their churches, at the cross-roads, at the dances and village assemblies, stoically resigned and self-contained, but stirred to the depths by the voices of blind minstrels, whom they joined in composing new songs about new happenings or in further glorifying the Imperial dream.[1]

[1] The most beautiful variants of the Serbian national ballads are found in Dalmatia. Several of them were reproduced by Tommaseo in his fine translation of the *Illyrian Ballads.*

Vuk Stefanović Karadjić (1782–1864), whose standard collection of the Serbian national ballads is world famous, visited Dalmatia on several occasions. In 1862 he was my father's guest in Spalato. He discovered several new ballads during his stay, and encouraged the Nationalists in the Italianized town to persevere in the struggle for the emancipation of Slav Dalmatia.

Vuk Karadjić has rightly been called the Father of Modern Serbian literature. His is the great merit of having unified the Serbo-Croatian language, by adopting the idiom spoken in the Herzegovina as the literary language, introducing phonetic spelling, etc. His far-reaching reforms roused much hostility at first. For simplifying the Cyrillic alphabet by omitting a few archaic and obsolete characters still in use in the Russian Cyrillic alphabet, the conservative Russians and the members of the Holy Synod denounced him as an "Austrian agent." Moreover, the sympathies of the Old-Russians for the Serbian cause were considerably alienated by Karadjić's reforms, and later on—after 1876—the Bulgars, who remained faithful to the old Cyrillic alphabet, profited by this campaign against Serbian spelling!

On the other hand, the Austrian Government pursued the great

Another result of the persecution of our people and the struggle they have been compelled to this day to wage for the bare right to exist and to found a fatherland, was the flow of migration which went on without intermission for centuries. What De Maistre said of the Napoleonic cataclysms is certainly true of the Serbo-Croat nation: "*Nous avons été écrasés pour être mêlés.*"

The official standard of some sixty years ago, and incidentally that of the Romantic period, recognized a servant race, and a superimposed, non-indigenous master race, the ruling and the ruled. It was the obsolete standard of the successors of the great Imperialists, and whoever would apply it to the people of Dalmatia and Croatia could thereby reveal a complete incapacity for dealing with the complex problems which constitute the web of modern politics.

Between Bosnia, Herzegovina, Old Serbia, Macedonia and the regions north of the Save and around the Adriatic, there was a constant ebb and flow that followed the course of the Ottoman invasion and completed the work of the earlier migrations of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. That is why in the remotest extremities of Croatia you find immigrant populations from the remotest extremities of Herzegovina, why Syrmia and Slavonia were re-populated by Macedonian Serbs from Peč and Ochrida, and all Dalmatia and the islands are full of Bosnians, Herzegovinians and Old Serbians;

Serbian scholar, who lived in Vienna, with illiberal vexations. In 1822 he was refused permission to publish the second edition of the *National Ballads*, and in 1842 he was severely reprimanded for having published a Serbian translation of the New Testament in Leipzig!

the last-named even migrating as far as Italy, as we have seen, in the fourteenth century. Serbia herself, a country of which modern journalism has built up an erroneous conception, as though it had no ancient ties of racial kinship with either Dalmatia or Bosnia, became one of the great crucibles of our race.[1] The principal actors—and Kara George above all—in the revolutionary epic of 1806 and 1815, were Herzegovinian, Bosnian and finally Dalmatian refugees.

Neither religious considerations, nor the characters of the alphabet, neither facial type nor complexion, nor the high-sounding names of noble houses, can be invoked with impunity in support of any solution of the problems of our race, save the one and only natural solution—Union. All is intermingled, fused, crossed, amalgamated; only the artificial fence set up by alien-spirited govern-

[1] The main current of Dinaric migration, the strongest of all, starting from Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Old Serbia, flowed towards the Serbian-Morava region, Croatia, and lastly Dalmatia. In the last-named country this current of Dinaric migration took the transverse routes, passes and water-courses of Prolog (north-west of Spalato), of the Narenta, Krstac and others.

It reached the Adriatic and Istrian Isles. Almost the entire population of Bocche di Cattaro is descended from emigrants from Montenegro and Herzegovina.

These immigrant refugees were encouraged by the Venetians, who needed them for the defence of the Dalmatian frontiers against the Turks, and they greatly increased the ranks of the Serbo-Croat population in Dalmatia.

Later on, the Serbo-Croats assimilated the last remnants of the older, superficially Italianized Slav population as well as a few score Venetian families settled in Dalmatia under the administration of the Republic.

Readers are recommended to consult *La Péninsule Balkanique* (Armand Colin, 1918), by the well-known Balkan authority, Prof. Jovan Cvijić, Rector of the University of Belgrade.

ments still holds out against the rising flood, which Austria foresaw so plainly, that she did not hesitate to stake her own existence in the final attempt to break up our nation into "despised common herds"

> "And in despite of years and destiny
> To thrust it back into its ancient griefs."

In spite of the docility of Dalmatian political parties, and all attempts on their part to find a formula which would reconcile the cast-iron Empire with the national life, the dominant wish of our nation, thus welded into one, was nowhere more boldly proclaimed than in Dalmatia, as if thereby the Slav land were trying to show its sympathy with the Latin genius of unification, with its love of lucidity and construction.

In 1866 these sentiments found expression in an article by Count Pozza, who had already in his youth in Padua distinguished himself, as we have seen, by his passionate devotion to the Slav Idea.

Before entering into a long and painful eclipse under the reigns of the two last Obrenović sovereigns, Serbia had in 1866, as now in 1914, placed herself at the head of the Jugoslav movement under Prince Michael. To this day the effigy of the Prince on his death-bed is to be seen in all the Slav reading-rooms of Spalato and Zara, with the inscription:

"*Tvoja misao poginuti neće.*"[1]

And during his lifetime he found worthy fellow-workers in Croatia and Dalmatia, chiefly Bishop

[1] "Thy thought will not perish."

Strossmayer and the Croat National party, with its chiefs Mrazović, Rački and Miškatović.

Already the conviction was ripening in the people that the future of the race could no longer be jeopardized and that no solution could be considered except the grouping of all the national forces round Serbia. All attempts to replace the latter by other political factors (e.g. Croatia, Montenegro, etc.) were foredoomed to failure. In spite of the profound Occidentalism of the Dalmatians and the Croats, ultra-Democratic and Oriental Serbia exercised a genuine fascination upon all patriots between the Drave and the Adriatic.[1]

This fascination reached its height in 1866. It was due to two fundamental causes: firstly, to democratic liberty, which was as far removed from Austrian bureaucratic rule as it is, by its very definition, from Russian autocracy as aped by the Montenegrin sovereigns; and secondly, to the sublime altruism of the little country, however often rent by internal strife. Even at the most painful moments in her history, Serbia has never failed to reject even the most seductive and advantageous offers from strangers, but given a haughty refusal to the fiends of Austria and Turkey who

[1] We would here remind our readers that Dalmatia has given three Ministers of the Crown to Serbia (Mr. Jovanović, of Cattaro, Minister for the Interior in the present Pašić Cabinet; Mr. Djaja, of Ragusa, Catholic, late Minister of the Interior and Minister-Plenipotentiary; and the late General Franasović, of Curzola, Catholic, Minister for Foreign Affairs under King Alexander), besides numerous officers, professors, consuls, etc. Yet one other Dalmatian of Cavtat, the late Mr. Bogišić, Catholic, was at one time Minister of Justice in Montenegro. The Civil Code drawn up by him for the tiny Serb State represents a very remarkable essay at codifying Serb customary law.

tempted her, saying: "I will give thee all things, if thou wilt fall down and worship me." Serbia did not fall down and did not worship.

Of the irresistible force of attraction inherent in Serbia we have a proof in her great peasant leaders, before whom our aristocracy of blood and intellect has always bowed, although exposed to all the lures of civilization. We have proof of it in that amazing Karageorge, that titanic figure which, springing from an enslaved country locked in its primeval forests, deprived of all contact with civilization—which it had once known, however, and defended—snatched, like Prometheus, the torch which fired the whole peninsula from the Danube to the Adriatic and Ægean, and implied a sentence of slow but certain death upon two tyrant Empires, the butcher of the flesh and the butcher of the spirit. We have proof of it in Miloš, the organizer of the Jugoslav Piedmont who, in 1842, wrote to the intellectuals of Zagreb: "I thank the chivalrous Croats for their efforts in the vast domain of Slav culture, for their zeal for the establishment and development of our nationality." Nor must we forget Michael, who so wisely profited by the redoubtable crises in the neighbouring Empires of Austria and Turkey. Like Jelačić, he enjoyed the undivided confidence of the nation from Zagreb to Cattaro, but he was more personal, more independent than the Ban, and not enslaved by the spell of devotion to dynasty and caste; he dared, though a vassal of the Sultan, to demand the adherence of Croatia and Dalmatia to a plan of National Unity, the very plan to which Prince Nicholas of Montenegro (at that time not yet cir-

cumvented by Machiavellian agents) declared himself ready to sacrifice his little throne.

In 1866 we were tempted to believe that after so many centuries of humiliation and suffering, fortune had at last begun to smile upon us.

In Dalmatia, the national question was the object of fierce contest between the National party and the Autonomists, whose Liberal leaders had already gone over bag and baggage to the Governmental Reactionary party under the Italian label. The Monarchy had already taken the turning towards the conflict which was to expel her from Germany and throw her into the arms of Prussia.

In this historic moment of suspense Count Pozza published a political programme article in Florence, in the January issue of the *Nuova Antologia* under the significant title of " La Serbia e l'Impero d'Oriente " (Serbia and the Empire of the East).

Before I conclude, may I be permitted to draw attention to several striking passages in this article, in which the programme of 1914 is outlined with admirable lucidity? Pozza's prognostication, which expressed the secret hope of all Jugoslav patriots, even in those moments when they seemed for the most part to have turned away from it, may well have provoked the smiles of the many who were ignorant of the slow, but steady growth of the Great Idea. But there were privileged exceptions like Tommasèo, who often met with Pozza during their stay by the shores of the Arno, or Mazzini, who studied Mieczkiewicz and Cyprien Robert in Lugano. The latter, especially, understood the writings of both Pozza and Tommasèo, and they served him

as studies which enabled him both then and later on to write his epoch-making *Slav Letters*.

"The marvellous solution of the Italian Cause," wrote the Dalmatian noble, "proceeding more from the mind than from the heart, represents to-day the supreme triumph of the principle of nationality over the sophisms of historic right, natural frontiers, political equilibrium, which agitate the minds of statesmen. By having become at one stroke the greatest support of this principle, it has given a strong impetus towards Liberty to the rest of Europe, and has already given prominence to sundry other questions which have hitherto been kept in the background. By far the most pressing of these is that which is called in modern parlance the Eastern Question.

"This question—which confronts the politicians like a spectre and involves so many names and so many special questions, such as the Cretan, the Greek, the Moldavo-Wallachian, the Montenegrin, the Serbian, the Croatian, the Hungarian, the Albanian, the Herzegovinian, the Bulgarian, and others as well—will become much simpler at once, if it is examined by the light of the principle which has triumphed to-day in Italy, viz. the principle of nationality.

"We shall then see towering in the East, as the supreme and radical Question, one which has perhaps hitherto not caused so much noise, i.e. the *Serbian Question*. This cannot be settled by the cession of a few fortresses [1] to the Principality of Serbia by the Turk, by the granting of a few privi-

[1] The fortresses of Belgrade, Šabac, Smederevo, Kladovo, Soko, and Užice were in 1866 still garrisoned by the Turks. and their evacuation was looked upon as a great personal success for Prince Michael. Most remarkable is the general conviction of the Serbo-Croat nation in the most tragic moments of the history of Serbia (1813, 1866, 1914-19), that the united future of the race cannot be compromised, and that no solution of the national question can be taken into serious consideration but the grouping of all the national forces around Serbia. All attempts at substituting other political factors—such as Croatia, Montenegro, etc.—have failed ignominiously.

Pozza was one of the most zealous champions of the mission of Serbia, in spite of his Western culture and inclinations.

leges to its Prince, and perhaps an addition of a little territory; the Serbian cause involves far greater consequences. It extends far beyond the limits of the present Principality; it includes and blends with the Jugoslav Question, of which it is the most important part, and its triumph would bring in its train that of the principle of nationality in the (Near) East, i.e. the destruction of both the Austrian and Turkish Empires (the present occupiers of its territory) and the reconstruction of the East on a natural basis, rendering it preponderantly Slav.

"This programme of a great Jugoslav realm, the centre of a confederation of lesser Roumanian, Magyar, Albanian, and Greek States, is the ideal of all Slavs who realize that, willy-nilly, they are the inevitable heirs of two moribund Empires, and that when the conventional agglomerations of Turkish and Austrian territory are broken up, they will necessarily remain the most compact body placed by nature in the East. This programme, which has been cherished in silence and revealed only in glimpses here and there in one form or another, has been instinctively opposed, not only by the Austrians and the Turks, but also by those who would replace their conventionalism by their own, viz. the Greeks and the Magyars, and hindered by those who from a spirit of rivalry are disputing its leadership, viz. the Serbs and the Croats. Certainly this programme is not to be found formulated in any European Cabinet, although it is, obviously, the only one which an ethnological knowledge of the past would suggest . . . yet to suggest its immediate application now would be simply to qualify for the reputation of a madman.

"Only the Italians, whom the Materialists of those days have so often called mad, and who have nevertheless—thank God!—made of this Italy, this geographical expression, a kingdom which, better than any other in Europe, embodies the absolute principle of nationality—only they can sympathize with the madness of the Jugoslavs, and agree with them in their desire to emerge from the condition of an ethnographic expression and pass on to that of a political organism. As, moreover, the destruction of at least the Turkish Empire is an inevitable and perhaps imminent event—and it might be fatal to Italy if Austria, her old and inveterate

enemy, should profit by this, and, strengthened by the Turkish Slav provinces, convert the eastern shore of the Adriatic into a menace to Italy's future—it is of the greatest interest to the latter to prevent this at all costs, and to favour by every means within reason the realization of the Jugoslav programme."

After having thus formulated the problem of the Jugoslav world, with a clearness that leaves nothing to be desired, the author devotes fourteen short chapters to a recapitulation of the historical-political development of the individual component parts of the Jugoslav race, including the Bulgars. All converge (according to him) towards a concentration of the national forces—except the Bulgarian, however—round Serbia. Even Croatia, " the life-saving plank in the shipwreck of the Austrian dynasty," is bound to follow the fate of Serbia. Anticipating by half a century the declaration made by the Croatian refugee leaders to M. Delcassé and Sir Edward Grey, Pozza wrote:

" The Slavs of Croatia and Slavonia, if the dialect of a people is any indication of its race, belong to the Serbian branch in Slavonia and in the military frontier, and to the Carnic branch in civil Croatia; but as even the latter, ever since they formulated their views on the future, have adopted the Serbian idiom as their official tongue, Serbian literature as their own literature, the Serbian lands as their own country, retaining only the name of Croats, such mere substitution of one name for another makes no difference to the gist of the matter, *and the cause of the Kingdom of Croatia is the Serbian cause.*[1]

[1] " The Kingdom of Croatia, or, to call it by its diplomatic name, the Kingdom of Dalmatia, Slavonia, and Croatia, the focus of which in its day was Dalmatia, which, although to-day no longer part of it, is nevertheless the only country where you find Croats of unmixed stock, viz., in the district of Zara, Sebenico, Spalato and the Adriatic Islands." . . . Thus Pozza, in the above-quoted article, chap. xv.

In concluding his prophetic article, which really deserves to be reprinted at this juncture and circulated widely, Pozza expresses himself as follows:

"The urgent necessity of protecting European civilization and liberty demands the establishment in the (Near) East of a sizeable State, which by its strength, its extent, by its natural ties with the rest of civilized Europe and by the probability of future growth, will be able to protect itself and all of us from a Russian invasion, an Austrian invasion and an unforeseen and cataclysmic solution of the Eastern Question."

"If this State is to be a live state, it can only be a Slav State. Through it Russia would lose the moral advantage which she derives from being the sole representative and, so to say, the guardian of the Slavs in the Councils of Europe; Austria would lose the moral advantage she derives from her Slavs, and especially from the Jugoslavs, and their hopes of finding in the Monarchy a stable support and a centre of their own. This State, the existence of which has become necessary to the safety of Europe, can only be, as our discourse goes to show, a Kingdom of Serbia.

"Let Italy consider this!"

Thus has Dalmatia, by the mouth of Gundulić, Kačić, and Počić, clearly and emphatically laid down in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries our national programme which is now being realized amid untold catastrophes. "Let Italia consider this," is still the Dalmatian politician's message to Italy.

During all those years of political eclipse, when she was a member of the Triple Alliance, have her diplomats and publicists kept her informed of the highly important evolutionary movement of those races which did not happen to be the fortunate and dominating ones in the Monarchy? I doubt it. The Serbian, Croat and Jugoslav world in general

was not considered worth studying, in spite of the frequent warnings of Mazzini and Tommasèo. Instead of sound knowledge there was blind faith in the rancours of a few renegades; or, in the absence of comprehension of the political events on the opposite shore of the Adriatic, the recriminations of a single political party, isolated from the live part of the nation, were accepted as gospel truth.

The opening of the first Croatian University in Zagreb in 1874, was attended by delegations from the Universities of Padua and Bologna. To the Serbo-Croat people the eloquent and flattering greetings from the Rectors of these Universities conveyed oblivion of the wars in which precisely the Croats had suffered so cruelly. But they were received with frigid indifference by an Italian public kept in ignorance of the development of a Slav nation appointed by destiny to be Italy's natural ally and fellow-worker.

It needed the roar of guns in the Balkans to cause the writings of the Genoese Prophet to be unearthed, read by a few, and noted by a yet smaller number as being something more than the outcome of the usual Mazzinian idealism. The indignation and advice of Prati, Tommasèo and a few other clear-sighted Italians, intent on seeing the foundation of an important Chair of Jugoslav history and literature on the model of that in the Sorbonne, were ignominiously lost in the slough of public indifference. Only quite recently the University of London called the distinguished Professor Masaryk to the newly created Chair of Slav Studies and appointed a young Croat lecturer [1] of Serbo-Croat language and literature.

[1] Srgjan Tucić.

But truly the Jugoslav world was better known to the Venetians of the fourteenth century than to the propagandists of the twentieth, who nevertheless boast that they are carrying the traditions of Venice. They have refused to see anything in the Jugoslav movement but what the Austrian police saw there, i.e. a series of experiments by a few hot-heads, the conscious or unconscious instruments of Russia, the enemy. They have been bent on seeing conspiracies against Italy where there are really none but the one of Italy's own making, viz. the cult of the principles to which she herself owes her resurrection.

But the Dead, re-awakened by the thunder of the great struggle for liberty and the independence of peoples, have spoken. From their forgotten pages they have spoken of "Victory" and "Renewal." A nation does not renew itself by turning back the course of history, by straying in beaten paths where everything has already been said, experienced and judged, in paths which lead inevitably to grim expiations, such as we are all at this moment both sharing and witnessing.

The work of centuries—says Mazzini—cannot go backward. It goes onward on the shining path, traced by the great dead whom we feel to be nearer to us to-day than they ever were to their contemporaries. Upon the reply which Italy will give to her Dead who still speak to her, to the voice of her Martyrs and Prophets, will depend perhaps not so much the fate of the Jugoslavs, as the authority and prestige of Italy herself in the counsels of Europe reborn.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX I

AUSTRIA AND CROATIA

MEMORANDUM BY N. TOMMASÈO.[1]

1859

Austria's shrewdness consisted in exploiting the various nationalities subject to her, by setting one against another, by exaggerating divergencies or creating them.

The Italians think that the nation in which Austria's greatest material strength reposes is bound to her for ever, and their own irreconcilable enemy. This

[1] Tommasèo Niccolò; writer, scholar, thinker, distinguished Italo-Slav politician, born at Sebenico (Šibenik), Dalmatia in 1802, died at Florence on May 1, 1874. He played a notable part in the Italian movement for unification. Together with Daniel Manin he was imprisoned in Venice, liberated by the revolution of March 17, 1848, and then became a member of the Provisional Government of Venice, Minister of Public Instruction and Ambassador of the Venetian Republic in Paris. After the capitulation of Venice, he took refuge in Corfù, whence he went to Turin, where he refused a Government post offered him by Cavour and began his famous *Dizionario universale della lingua italiana*. Later on he published his Dictionary of Synonyms. In 1861 Tommasèo, then completely blind, retired to Florence, where he died in 1874 surrounded by universal respect, after refusing a Senator's seat in Rome and every other mark of distinction. He was a man of utter spiritual independence, profoundly religious, and one of the most important

is a mistaken idea, fatal to both nations, and it must cease to exist.

The Croats have both ancient and fairly recent memories of national rights trampled underfoot by Austria, of promises violated by her; and Austria's obligations towards them are only one reason the more why the apparent ties which bind them to her should be broken.

National Rights Flouted.

At the General Assembly in January 1527, the Croat nation, not being conquered by force of arms, nor driven to this step by internal dissensions nor yet by dynastic considerations, accepted Ferdinand I as its King, but under the compact that he would uphold the Constitution which had received the sanction of former assemblies, and that he would uphold the communal liberties, immunities and privileges.

In 1712 the Pragmatic Sanction offered the nation a fresh, solemn opportunity of securing the diplomatic recognition of its proper rights, and of causing Austria once more to promise their observance. Since then this promise has been confirmed under oath by every Sovereign.

As regards the rest of the nationalities, the Constitution of March 1849 (which aimed at the appearance

among Italian writers of the nineteenth century. He tried his hand at every form of literature, and was one of the founders of the celebrated *Nuova Antologia* in Florence. He is the author of about 200 works. His introduction to the correspondence of Pasquale Paoli, his Treatise on St. Catherine of Siena, his literary and critical essays, poems and memoirs, are an inexhaustible source of inspiration upon which the new generation of Italian literary men has drawn very largely.

His Slav activity in politics and literature is very briefly indicated in these pages.

of a fresh obligation freely undertaken in the interest of the nationalities), was a mere delusion ; but as regards Croatia it was an act of disloyalty, since with one blow it destroyed her civil and political guarantees.

But the Liberal mask of 1849 was dropped as soon as the danger was past, and by the repeal of the December Constitution of 1851, Croatia was left without the rights recently promised, and without her ancient liberties which had made of her a nation.

Thus Austria herself had broken the bonds of the Pragmatic Sanction and infringed the contract of 1527. It is clear that she is the real author of a revolution opposed to the laws of civilization and morality ; that the nation she flouted and duped has thereby re-acquired its original rights and may demand them in the face of all Europe.

Violated Promises.

It is superfluous to recall the promises which, under the stress of fear, Austria made in 1848 to some of the leaders of our nation. These promises not only remained unfulfilled, but became a humiliation and cause of unpopularity to those who believed in them. It should be remembered that in 1848 the Croats decided in a General Assembly that the whole of their armies should be recalled from Italy, but those who believed in Austria's lying promises so contrived that the decree of the national will was ignored.

Everybody knows the power of discipline in regular forces, and especially among a simple people accustomed to obey its leaders ; and that a soldier, however persuaded of the iniquity of a war, will, when it comes to the proof, fight bravely to avoid at all costs the imputation of treachery or cowardice. To this we must add the

fomentation of mutual hatred not only by Austria, who profited by it, but even by those who stood to suffer most by it.

It would be well to recall yet one other painful memory, not by way of recrimination, but rather in order that two peoples may cease from mutual recrimination and learn from henceforth to pity one another and to remember.

On 29th July, 1845, the results of the elections in the county of Zagreb failed to conform with the wishes of the Austrian Government. The populace shouted, "*Long live the Constitution! Long live the Nation!*" when the rejoicing crowds were surrounded in the square by soldiers who fired indiscriminately upon women, old men and children. Twenty-two were killed and more than sixty wounded. The son of a highly placed official, a handsome and high-spirited youth, was hit in the chest by six bullets, as he was in the act of pulling a political adversary out of danger. Next day the twenty-two victims were borne to their graves with solemn pomp in mournful triumph, the Austrians not daring to affront the wrathful grief of the people or the body of armed frontier Militia which had arrived in haste. But those Austrian soldiers (I repeat that I am not saying this for the sake of recrimination) belonged to the Wimpffen Regiment; they were Italians. May the lessons of the past give us a wiser future, and one more honourable to all of us.

Historic Memories.

A book will shortly appear, in French, which will demonstrate the facts indicated here and others relevant to the subject. It will prove by historic documents how much the nation, which is by the ignorant excluded

as barbarous from European civilization, has done and might yet achieve. It will tell how its coming was announced by victory over the Avars, the redoubtable enemies of civilization in the sixth and seventh centuries; how it was the first to resist the cruel invasions of the Franks; how in the thirteenth century the Tartars, after having overrun Russia, Poland and Hungary, found their grave in Croatia, which was as much as life was worth to the nations who thus escaped the invading torrent; how in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries it formed a dyke against Ottoman barbarism, thus earning the title of *antemurale* of Christianity.

And for these services, and for the ancient unhappiness it has suffered from the Austrian Government—which never did anything to ameliorate its condition, but made a fine art of keeping it divided, despised and hated—I trust and hope that this nation, which has steadily grown to a full consciousness of its proper rights and duties, will on the day of its resurrection receive from the Governments and peoples of civilized Europe fraternal loyalty and support.

N. TOMMASÈO, *Secondo Esilio, iii.* 357–360.

APPENDIX II

DALMATIA

POPULATION ACCORDING TO THE OFFICIAL CENSUS OF 1910.

District.	Total Number.	Serbo-Croats.	Italians.
Benkovac	17,262	17,192	52
Kistanje	10,648	10,635	13
Obrovac	16,144	16,118	19
Budva	6,707	6,182	8
Ercegnovi (Castelnuovo) ..	9,282	8,601	153
Kotor (Cattaro)	14,427	12,772	348
Perast	5,598	4,920	22
Blato	13,156	13,147	6
Korcula (Curzola)	8,472	8,039	430
Peljesac (Sabioncello)	8,067	8,058	8
Imocki	42,086	42,018	46
Drnis	24,434	24,310	90
Knin	30,502	30,343	96
Starigrad (Cittavecchia) ..	13,303	13,034	254
Hvar (Lesina)	3,558	3,306	240
Vis (Lissa)	10,041	9,939	92
Makarska	16,287	16,145	117
Vrhgorac	11,362	11,358	—
Metković	15,475	15,413	32
Dubrovnik (Ragusa)	19,481	18,153	301
Cavtat (Ragusavecchia) ..	9,727	9,706	16
Ston (Stagno)	9,424	9,393	9
Sv. Petar (San Pietro) (Brač) ..	22,865	22,364	265
Skradin (Scardona)	11,599	11,525	66
Šibenik	37,735	36,095	873
Tjesno (Stretto)	8,324	8,292	29
Sinj	43,318	43,008	106
Vrlika	13,703	13,696	5
Omiš (Almissa)	16,604	16,571	28
Split (Spalato)	52,864	50,514	2,090
Trogir (Traù)	29,041	28,784	239
Rab (Arbe)	5,083	4,899	151
Pag	7,450	7,426	23
Zadar (Zara)	62,199	49,915	11,574
Biograd (Zaravecchia)	8,627	8,598	20
Total number	634,855	610,669	18,028

The rest of the population consists of 3,081 Germans and 3,077 of other nationalities, mostly soldiers.

RETURNS OF THE ELECTIONS ON THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN 1911 AND 1907.

Districts.	Total Number of Electors.	Croat Candidates.	Right Hand Candidates.	Italian Candidates.
I.				
1911		Borelli	Don Prodan	Boxich
a. Rab (Arbe)	1,231	169	569	32
b. Pag (Pago)	1,555	136	509	335
c. Zadar (Zara)	13,304	1,747	3,602	3,451
d. Biograd (Zaravecchia) ..	1,657	860	353	10
	17,747	2,912	5,034	3,828
1907				
a, b, c, d	15,881	2,996	5,079	3,076
II.				
1911		Dubo-ković	Dulibić	
a. Šibenik	8,624	2,138	3,213	112
b. Tjesno (Stretto) ..	1,900	378	843	6
c. Skradin (Scardona) ..	2,273	928	594	21
	12,797	3,444	4,650	139
1907				
a, b, c	11,609	2,542	1,083	—
III.				
1911		Dr. Ivčević	Dr. Krstelj	?
a. Drnis	5,899	1,252	2,614	13
b. Trogir (Traù)	6,351	3,075	1,019	339
c. La Commune de Promina (district Knin) ..	1,205	228	761	—
	13,455	4,655	4,394	352
1907				
a, b, c	12,561	5,730	282	—

RETURNS OF THE ELECTIONS ON THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN 1911 AND 1907—*continued.*

Districts.	Total Number of Electors.	Croat Candidates.	Right Hand Candidates.	Italian Candidates.
IV.		Dr. Mazzi	Dr. Sesardić	
1911				
a. Sinj	10,248	3,307	4,209	—
b. Vrlika	3,183	1,354	627	—
	13,431	4,661	4,836	—
1907				
a, b	12,740	2,077	6,937	—
V.		Dr. Smodlaka		?
1911				
Split (Spalato)	11,901	4,467	—	538
1907				
—	10,925	4,170	—	—
VI.			V. Perić	
1911				
a. Imocki	10,457	—	1,360	89
b. Omiš (Almissa)	3,887	—	389	—
	14,344	—	1,749	69
1907				
a, b	13,462	—	4,206	—
VII.		Dr. Tresić-Pavičić	Don Bojanić	?
1911				
a. Hvar (Lesina)	1,154	367	21	76
b. Via (Liesa)	2,205	851	192	77
c. Brač (Brazza)	4,257	1,541	1,135	79
d. Starigrad	2,919	1,398	188	352
	10,535	4,157	1,536	584
1907				
a, b, c, d	10,299	4,224	2,349	—

RETURNS OF THE ELECTIONS ON THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN 1911 AND 1907—*continued.*

District.	Total Number of Electors.	Croat Candidates.	Right Hand Candidates.	Italian Candidates.
VIII.		Dr. Čingrija	Dr. Drinković	
1911				
a. Makarska	3,440	975	1,380	—
b. Vrhgorac	2,585	1,349	466	—
c. Metković	3,633	969	1,286	—
d. Peljesac	1,747	776	214	—
e. The Commune of Ston	1,346	432	376	—
	12,751	4,501	3,722	—
1907				
a, b, c, d, e	12,028	3,263	1,475	—
IX.		Dr. Biankini	Dr. Cvilićević	
1911				
a. Dubrovnik	4,140	1,192	666	141
b. Korcula	2,239	561	238	183
c. Blato	3,022	2,179	41	5
d. Cavtat	2,391	430	326	60
e. Ston	613	262	28	—
f. The Commune of Orebić	698	153	11	6
	13,103	4,768	1,310	395
1907				
a, b, c, d, e, f	12,637	4,426	1,310	—

RETURNS OF THE ELECTIONS ON THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN 1911 AND 1907—*continued.*

District.	Total Number of Electors.	Serbian Party Candidates.	Right Hand Candidates.	Italian Candidates.
X.				
1911		Dr. Baljak	?	
a. Benkovac	3,448	1,145	710	—
b. Kistanje	2,204	1,044	31	—
c. Obrovac	3,671	1,203	273	—
d. The Commune of Knin	6,073	3,061	9	—
	15,416	6,543	1,023	—
1907				
a, b, c, d	14,556	5,250	—	—
XI.				
1911		Dr. Vukotić	Dr. Sardelić	?
a. Kotor	3,383	1,359	868	22
b. Perast	1,456	412	364	—
c. Budva	1,782	390	365	1
d. Ercegnovi	2,112	664	565	3
	8,733	2,825	2,182	26
1907				
a, b, c, d	5,878	2,558	1,898	—

APPENDIX III

ZARA AND THE SLAV NATIONAL MOVEMENT

THE events of 1848 roused Dalmatia from her apathy; but the awakening from the long sleep of the Venetian era was by no means an Italian awakening, and, incredible though it might seem, were it not eloquently proved by facts, it was precisely *Zara*, the one-time seat of the Venetian Government, the city which in '48 had already been Austrian for half a century, though Italian in speech and inveterately Lombardo-Venetian in custom. Zara, as to its intellectual part, awoke to find itself *Slav*. So much so that the Dalmatian patriot Stefan Ivičević wrote to a friend, " Nakić, the Mayor of Zara, is a Slav and a Slav banner-bearer " (cf. L. C. Pavišić: *Life of Stefan Ivičević*). Tommasèo was of exactly the same opinion.

That very year, in the month of May, the first weekly paper, *La Dalmazia Costituzionale*, was founded in Zara. The paper did not bear a pronouncedly political character, but still the principal problems of public right were discussed in its pages. It contained articles which were undeniably Slav in feeling, and advocated the union of Dalmatia and Croatia, while respecting the old intellectual ties with the Italian people.

Its contemporary, the *Zora Dalmatinska*, Kuzmanić's paper, which was founded in Zara in 1844, openly upheld the cause of Slav brotherhood and the need for the

Dalmato-Croatian union. Thus we read: "The barren sea divides Dalmatia from Italy; on the other hand the fertile earth unites Dalmatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina and Croatia in one territorial unit, wherein live our people and our language; blood is not water; we must be all the more resolved to further the unity of our fatherland and to repel every attempt to make our people subject to isolated groups of foreigners."

Stefan Ivičević sang:

> "Faith and God; 'tis but one village
> That from Save to sea we would be."

In May 1848, the Czechs convoked a General Congress of all Austrian Slavs in Prague, as a protest against the German Assembly in Frankfort. To the invitation addressed to the Slav patriots of Dalmatia, the latter replied by a meeting in Zara and a message expressing in face of the hegemony meditated in Germany the unflinching purpose of living united with their Slav brothers under the constitutional regime of the Austrian Sovereign. The signatories regretted that they were unable to send a delegate to Prague, owing to the fact that the invitation had reached them too late; but that they so far endorsed all the resolutions of the Majority in the Assembly; and begged the latter to take the most efficacious measures possible to ensure security and free development for the seventeen million Austrian Slavs in the common State. This manifesto was dated from Zara, 21st May, 1848, and signed by all Dalmatians of note, among whom I will merely mention A. Kuzmanić, Božidar Petranović, Stefan Ivičević, Anton Bertić, Count Dede-Mitrović, Count John Pavlović, Biagio di Bona, Count Francesco Borelli, Count Cosimo Begna-Possedaria, Dr. Filippi, Demetrio Medović, Lodovico de Lantana, John Sundečić,

Dr. Joseph Manzin, Dr. Cesare de Pellegrini, Sigismund de Grazio, etc.

When the Croatian Diet appealed to the Dalmatian brothers in race on 10th June, 1848, for "union in fraternal bonds, for the common glory and advantage;" and when later on the Croats invited the Dalmatian Municipalities to send representatives to Zagreb to discuss the desired union, it was not Zara, but Spalato, which took up an absolutely hostile attitude.

The Municipality of Zara passed a resolution, temporizing but sympathetic in tone. As a matter of fact, many Nationalists considered that this accorded best with the sentiment of the greater part of the population which was not yet fully prepared for the decisive step.

The Municipality of Zara, in fact, excused itself for not being able to send representatives; not on account of being radically opposed to the union, but because it considered the latter inopportune at the moment, and held that a General Assembly of the Dalmatian people was alone entitled to decide upon it. Nevertheless, if the rights of both parties were equally respected, the Municipality declared itself not opposed to union with Croatia. As regards the language question, the Municipality, while admitting the Slav character of the whole country, would consider it desirable that, in consideration of the fact that Italian was the language spoken by the educated classes, Dalmatia should be free to regulate the language question within her own borders. The resolution concluded with the remark that as Dalmatia had frequently opposed the pretensions of the Hungarian Crown, the province did not, at the moment, desire to be annexed to the Kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia, which were united with the Kingdom of Hungary.

Many Serbs, and Croats too, considered the reply of the Municipality of Zara both moderate and wise. The well-known Serbian writer Matija Ban, a bitter enemy of the Magyars on account of their oppression of the Slavs, even applauded it warmly, and the staunch Nationalist Giuseppe Grubišić wrote to a friend that the Municipality of Zara "could not have replied more wisely."

The appointment of Jelačić as Governor of Fiume and Dalmatia was hailed with joy by the inhabitants of Zara. Unfortunately the March Constitution of 1849 did not unite Fiume with Croatia. Touching Dalmatia, it was declared that "the Dalmatian representatives would come to an understanding with the Croatian with regard to the conditions of the union." But the Absolutist system, reborn from the ashes of the Revolution, hastened to make the Imperial promise a dead letter.

Dalmatia was represented by ten deputies in the Constituent Assembly of 1849. At one of the first meetings Petranović and Ivičević proposed the introduction of Illyrian schools in Dalmatia. Italian, however, was still to be considered obligatory. Simultaneously, many patriots of Zara addressed a similar demand as regards the elementary schools to the Ministry, and also requested the introduction of the study of the Illyrian ancient and modern languages and literature in the Lycées (secondary schools).

The gymnasia (classical secondary schools), including that of Zara, opposed this demand, but expressed the wish "that the study of one Illyrian language, which must be considered of capital importance, should be made obligatory, so that officials might be able to express themselves in the native language of litigants." To this the Government consented.

In 1849 Kuzmanić founded a political and literary society of a pronouncedly Jugoslav character in Zara, the *Slavjanska Lipa* (the Slav Linden), whose programme included the claims to Trieste and Fiume. The *Slavjanska Lipa* had a membership of two hundred, but after existing for only five months, it was compelled to dissolve at the time when every Liberal movement was paralysed by the successful counter-offensive of Absolutism in January 1850. Even the Provisional Constitution was revoked by the Imperial Patent of 11th December, 1851.

1851–1867.

During this period every Liberal movement was in abeyance. A cast-iron bureaucratic regime prevailed, which, to maintain itself in power, laid the foundations of an irreconcilable Autonomism after the Lombardo-Venetian type, and not at all in keeping with Tommasèo's idea. The bureaucrats realized that there would be nothing left for it but to abdicate, if the annexation became an accomplished fact together with the Liberal programme of Hungarian decentralization entailed by this step.

There was only one newspaper, the *Osservatore Dalmata*, which had taken the place of the *Gazzetta di Zara*. It was edited in two languages. The Italian part was edited by Giacomo Chiudina, and eventually by the notorious Lapenna. The edition of the Serbo-Croat part was first entrusted to Kuzmanić, then to the poet Kazali, and finally to the Serbian poet Sundečić, a native of Dalmatia.

In 1851, however, Kuzmanić started a juridic review, entitled *Pravdonoša* (the Legislator), in which Danilo published a study on the Constitution of Poljica, and

Vrčević one on the Constitution of Grbalj (Bocche di Cattaro). This journal only survived for one year.

There was also an agricultural review, the *Poućitelj-težački* (the Teacher of Agriculture), but this, too, only ran for two years.

The only break in the intellectual and political silence of this period was the publication in 1857 of a short Italian poem in six cantos, entitled "The Slav Mother," by a Zaratine poet, Luigi Fichert.

The subject was one of those which have been hackneyed to death; the traditional Montenegrin hero who is killed by the Turks, and the mother who brings up her son to be his father's avenger. Indeed it is not the subject of the poem, but the spirit pervading it, that calls for attention. This spirit is a pure homage to Serbia, to Slavism, to Liberty; to Serbia, "mother of heroes."

"Where the new
Pæan rises which Slavia evokes
From the chords of the warrior Gusla."

These Aleardian verses—but rather more virile than those of the poet of the "Lettere a Maria"—thrilled the Dalmatians to the core. The little poem was soon translated into Serbian and ran through many editions. The last was that of Ferdinando Ongania, published upon the occasion of the marriage of the Prince of Naples, now King Victor Emmanuel III. This apotheosis of Serbia and Slavdom also originated in Zara.

In 1859 the author of the "Slav Mother" founded a literary journal, the *Dalmatian Review*, devoted to a better understanding between Italians and Serbo-Croats. This review only enjoyed nine months of life. It was one of the few gleams of light in those days,

isolated attempts, soon smothered in the stifling atmosphere of Austro-Dalmatian bureaucracy, but nevertheless valuable tokens which disprove the legend of Zara's inviolable "Italianità." Soon afterwards these tokens multiplied and became definite proofs.

1860-1870.

The great Constitutional struggle initiated by the October Diploma of 1860 had its origin in Zara, the great general headquarters of the national Slav party of Klaić, Pulić, Danilo and others. The *Voce Dalmatica* (Voice of Dalmatia) was founded in June 1860. The promoters of this paper belonged to the two (subsequently) irreconcilable *political* parties (political only at first, and at a rather later date *national* also). Michael Klaić, Giovanni Danilo, and Niccolo de Gradi, the champions of Slav nationalism, worked on the same editorial staff, together with Count Cosimo di Begna, Ferrari-Cupilli and Vincenzo Duplančić. This concord, however, was not of long duration. The *Voce Dalmatica* published an article on the register of landed property which, according to the author, ought to have been drawn up in Italian. Klaić contested this claim in a reply published by the Serbo-Croatian Supplement of the *Osservatore Dalmato.* The dispute with the *Voce* grew acrimonious. Finally, with the advent of Schmerling to power (after the February Patent of 1861), Sundečić resigned his post as editor of the supplement *Glasnik*; the *Osservatore* abandoned the attitude of neutrality it had carefully observed under the Federalist Ministry of Goluchowski and initiated a fierce campaign against the annexation and the annexationists.

Soon afterwards the foundation of the *Nazionale* was decided upon at a series of conferences in Spalato,

and the Municipal Council of Zagreb conferred the honorary citizenship of that town upon Nodilo, the first chief editor, in token of its complete accord with the Dalmatian national policy.

At the same time the " Narodna Čitaonica " (National News Room) was founded in Zara, in connection with the secession of the Nationalists from the " House of Nobles," a relic of the Venetian days, where the nobles and high officials of Zara used to meet. The " Čitaonica " was, above all things, a democratic institution, and admitted Croats and Serbs. The original executive Committee consisted of Count Manfred Borelli, Dr. Francesco Danilo, Count Dede Janković, Dr. Giovanni Medović and Dr. Giuseppe Antonietti. In his inaugural speech (delivered in Italian), Dr. Danilo, as president, assigned to the " Čitaonica " the task of closing the gulf then existing between the cities and the mass of the Dalmatian people. It was the mission of the " Narodna Čitaonica " to apply the balm of love and wisdom to this grave evil, and to close up the gulf created by indolence and ill-will, by cultivating closer ties between the various classes of the sons of one country, and in especial, by spreading the knowledge of the national language.

At a ball given in the Teatro Nobile, a gay assembly of more than five hundred people enthusiastically applauded a Montenegrin dance and a national chorus. The little " Čitaonica " in the " Calle del Sale " began with 196 members and fifty papers and periodicals in Serbo-Croat, Italian, French, English, Greek and German.

In 1864 the new management solemnly celebrated the millennium of the two Slav apostles, the brothers SS. Cyril and Method.

These were the beginnings of a national institution

in Zara which, during the ensuing decade, was not so much a news room as the general headquarters of the National Slav party, whence instructions were issued for all the elections, both Municipal and for the Provincial Diet, and indeed for all the patriotic activity which brought about the first triumph of the party in 1870.

From the very first the Austrian Government assumed an attitude of pronounced hostility towards this centre of Democracy and Liberalism. In order to strike at the society, it began by prosecuting its chief promoters. Klaić and Danilo were dismissed from the Civil Service. This iniquitous proceeding was the signal for the fight. The citizens of Zara subscribed a sum for a gold medal for the prosecuted patriots. The subscribers' list included the names of Giuseppe Armanini, Advocate Keller, Giovanni Medović, Pietro Paparella and Duplančić, editor-in-chief of the *Voce Dalmatica*. These eventually went over to the camp of the Governmental Autonomist party, whose programme aimed solely at the isolation of Dalmatia under the Viennese regime in an Italian guise.

In 1865 the "Čitaonica" abstained from taking part in the festivities in connection with the jubilee of the Governor Baron Mamula, in order to signify its protest against the electoral abuses whereby a parliamentary majority could be maintained which was contrary to the character and the aspirations of the Dalmatian people. The Government now declared war upon the "Čitaonica." Lapenna called upon all Government officials who were members to send in their resignations. All gave way except Antonietti, Gergurević, Boglić, Danilo, Giov. de Dominis and Giovanni Nikolić. The official paper insulted the society. The latter sued for libel, but lost its case.

The breach between the Liberal Union and the Government Autonomist party aggravated the situation, which led to the conflict between Lapenna and Bajamonti, in which the latter had the support of the Slav party. In Zara the Liberals were chiefly represented by Pietro Abelić, President of the Chamber of Commerce, and the Advocate Giacomo Giljanović, who strenuously championed the policy of an *equal footing for both languages* and an understanding with the Slav party, as otherwise the Italian language should be finally expelled from those shores. At the municipal election the "Liberals" and "Nationalists" put forward the candidature of Advocate Dr. Filippi in opposition to Count Begna, Lapenna's partisan. Begna was re-elected, but solely thanks to the vote of the Austrian officials. Of 395 electors, 303 were officials who voted *en bloc* for Lapenna's man. Of the 92 votes recorded by independent citizens, the Liberal National candidate had 80 and Begna only *twelve*. By this time the accusations of Panslavism had already begun. The President of the Advocates' Chamber in Spalato, Rádman, refused to inscribe the name of Dr. Manger on the rolls, giving as his reason that "Manger was imbued with Jugoslav ideas, which constituted a menace to the existence of the State." The Chamber of Zara desired to protest against this prejudiced procedure on the part of the Chamber of Spalato, and the Liberal Autonomists, Giljanović and Filippi, signed the protest.

In 1866 the Autonomist paper *Il Dalmata* was founded under the editorship of the brilliant publicist Enrico Matković. The paper pursued a Slav programme, but politically its programme was negative. "*Even as we shall combat to the uttermost the ideas of those few whose aspirations are centred in Italy or Germany, so we will with equal inflexibility set our faces against the blind*

impatience of those who desire annexation to Croatia;" adding, however, that if it were for the good of the fatherland, the paper would be the first to demand the annexation.

As regards the linguistic question, *Il Dalmata* upheld the need for the Italian language as the intellectual medium, but at the same time declared that it would strive to spread a knowledge of the Serbo-Croat tongue among the youth of the country, this language being "far more necessary to us."

The *Dalmata* remained faithful to this programme for many years. In 1871 Simeone Ferrari-Cupilli, Matković's successor, re-published it both in Italian and in Serbo-Croatian, and proclaimed the need for "linguistic freedom." In November of that year Matković rejoined the editorial staff and, through the medium of the paper, insisted on the duty of "working for the increase of popular instruction, and the study of the Slav tongue."

Incidentally the *Dalmata* published *feuilletons* in Serbo-Croatian. Even under Arturo Colautti, the paper continued to be bi-lingual when he took over the management in 1872. Not until 1874 did Colautti for the first time in the annals of the *Dalmata* speak of an "Italian nationality" in Dalmatia, when he did so in connection with a speech made in Parliament by Klaić. But even then the *Dalmata* did not look upon itself as the organ of an "Italian party," only as that of an Autonomist party. And during a heated electoral contest for the Vienna Parliament, Lapenna, the undisputed leader of the Dalmatian autonomists, protested fiercely in the *Dalmata* against the insinuations of Croatian agents that the Autonomist party was an "Italian party." In contrast to this moderation,

the President of the Court of Appeal, Defacis, in 1885, applied the insulting term "Scrovatian language"[1] to the language of the overwhelming majority of the population, the language extolled by Tommasèo and respected by the founders of the Autonomist Idea, who loved to call themselves Slavo-Dalmatians, the language praised by the sinister Lapenna himself.

Let us not forget the meetings in the "Scholars' Kitchen," so-called, those brilliant gatherings, frequented by Count Niccolò Pozza, the Ragusan noble, the Orthodox Monk Miloš, Giovanni Vranković of the Islands, Prof. Boglić, Klaić of Ragusa, Richard Beden, Simeon Stermić of Valcrociata, Afrić and Nicholas Katić, the artist Professor Smirić, Giljanović, Rougier and Manzin—all Zaratines who subsequently passed over to the Italian camp. In those days they were all Slavs; their aspirations were somewhat confused, it is true, but frankly national in essentials. They spoke Italian and thought Slav. There were no "nuclei," no "infiltrations," no "denationalizations"; they were all friends together and all inspired by the common hatred of the Centralist and bureaucratic regime. But in the end this regime gained the victory over the Liberal Autonomist elements. Their defection brought about the lamentable rift which facilitated the constitution of the *Italian party*, which was both favoured and desired by the Government, which was always pleased to assume that Russia was an accomplice of the Slav movement!

In March 1870 Zara was at the point of being won over altogether to the Slav cause, and certainly this would have happened but for the terrorism of the Austrian Government.

[1] Language of the land of sows; of course it is also a coarse word-play upon the word "Serbo-Croatian."

The municipal elections took place in March. In the *third district*, in spite of a heated contest which degenerated into a free fight in the Piazza dei Signori, the Slav candidates were successful, and the following were returned: Advocate Simeon de Stermić, Dr. Giovanni Medović, Pietro Antunović, Giuseppe de Lantana, Dr. Francesco Danilo, Giovanni Glisić, Count Giuseppe Borisi, Dr. Giuseppe Paštrović, Giacomo Pivac, Roberto di Lagarde, Teodor Jurković and Antonio Vukić.

In the *second district* the National party had put forward five Liberal candidates, among them Pietro Abelić and Advocate Giacomo Giljanović. The Liberals were successful.

In the *first district* the list of Autonomist Government candidates, with Lapenna at their head, was successful, thanks to the intervention of the Government.

Thus in 1870 the Municipal Council of Zara included several Serbo-Croat members, belonging to the best families of the city of Zara, and if the union had only persisted, the legend of an Italian Zara would have been even officially disproved.

In that very year, 1870, the Chamber of Commerce returned a Slav, Dr. Antonio Bersa, for the Diet. The rural communes returned two Nationalists, viz. Dr. Giuseppe Antonietti and Dr. Giuseppe Paštrović.

The deplorable breach in 1873 and the foundation of the *Zemljak*[1] prepared the ground for Lapenna's *revanche*. And indeed, in the municipal elections of 1874, under Lapenna's electoral terror, the Serbo-Croats lost the third division, and in the first and second, finding themselves left in the lurch by the Liberals, they did not even put forward candidates.

[1] The Government paper.

With the foundation of the *Avvenire* in Spalato in 1875, the conflict became even more acute. The *Avvenire* was the first to sound the note of division: "In Dalmatia exist two well-defined nationalities—the Italian and the Slav." And the German deputy Keller repeated the formula in the Vienna Parliament.

Thus the metamorphosis of the Autonomist party, or at least part of it, into the purely Italian party dates from 1874–1875. The "Divide et Impera" principle had in fact, thanks to inflexible perseverance, scored a signal triumph.

However in 1875 the constituency of the most highly taxed citizens of Zara, which became vacant owing to the resignation of Keller, fell into the hands of the Slavs. Dr. Antonietti, the National candidate, who had succeeded in conciliating the small party of the *Zemljaci*, obtained 102 votes, as against 52 for the Autonomist candidate Piperata. In 1875 there was a Serbo-Croat dramatic season at the *Teatro Nobile*.

The Autonomists of Zara were opposed to the campaign of the *Avvenire* in Spalato. During the Herzegovinian Insurrection, and the war that followed in 1876, the Garibaldian Committee was in close touch with the Zara National Committee, which used to meet at the "Čitaonica." A distinguished Italian parliamentarian, Roberto Galli, manager of the *Tempo* in Venice, and subsequently a member of Crispi's Cabinet, was the confidential emissary between the Garibaldian Committee and the Zara National Committee. It was he who negotiated the transmission of arms and munitions and transported Garibaldian volunteers to Zara with orders to report themselves to the National Committee.

The Serbo-Croat conflict (1879) was adroitly exploited by the Italian party.

Zara began to be invaded by Germanism. The *Dalmata* hailed its reappearance with joy, and in 1881 predicted the opening of a German gymnasium, "the want of which," said the paper, "had long been felt."

Followed energetic protests on the part of the Nationalists against the methods of Governor Jovanović's Government, and especially against the intrusion of Germanism in Zara. The nomination of several Germans for appointments in the Lieutenancy of Zara roused the satiric vein of Deputy Vranković, who opened a brilliant campaign in the *Nazionale*, now become the *Narodni List*.

"And so," he wrote, "for the second time the Crusaders have invaded the ducal city. The first time they leapt ashore from the galleys of the nonaganerian Enrico Dandolo, bristling with steel, to storm our vainly defended bastions; the second time they have landed quietly from Austrian Lloyd steamers, perfumed and groomed and armed with their salary lists. The first time they commemorated their sojourn by erecting the cathedral site of St. Anasthasia, this time they will build the tower of Babel.'

Just one example of political defection. Dr. Giovanni Medović began his political career as an active member of the National Serbo-Croat Committee, and in 1877 he stood as National candidate for the ward of the most highly taxed citizens of Zara. In consequence of the Serbo-Croat conflict, he went over to the Serbian camp, being himself an Orthodox Serb, and severed his connection with the "Čitaonica"; in 1885 he deserted from the Serbian camp, declared himself an Italian Autonomist and voted for Lapenna. His son Demetrio, who was educated in Trieste, is to-day a member of the Italian

Autonomist General Staff in Zara! Giuseppe Hoberth and Dr. Antonio Boltura passed through the same political evolution.

In the election for the Provincial Diet in 1885 the most violent of the electoral contests in Zara took place over the ward of most highly taxed citizens. Candidates: Lapenna, for the Autonomists; Count Manfred Borelli for the Nationalists. Part of the Serbian vote was given to Lapenna! The Autonomist Committee mobilized all the roughs in Zara, who, reinforced by the Albanians of Borgo Erizzo, besieged the hall where the Electoral Commission was sitting, and tried by yells, hootings and threats of violence to prevent the Nationalist electors from entering. The polling continued from nine o'clock in the morning till midnight. In spite of frenzied agitation and the mobilization of the bureaucratic apparatus, Count Borelli was elected.

We must mention the following Slav institutions established in Zara with the help of the Nationalist section of the population: The Croat elementary school; the Society for Poor Croat and Serb Students; the Athletic Society (Hrv. Sokol), founded in 1885 with a membership of 200; the Agrarian Society. In 1898 a secondary school was opened, in which Croatian was the language of instruction.

In so far as Zara remained the only city in the province which refused to accept the national idea, the municipality continued to represent the principles of autonomy and Italian Nationalism.

The cause of this is to be sought in the unjust application of the electoral law, and this was mainly due to the action of the Austrian Government, which was anxious to preserve the Italian status in Zara, in order to keep Slav Dalmatia constantly reminded of the possibility

of raising the question of Italian autonomy whenever the Jugoslavs pursued too radical and too Jugoslav a policy in the Vienna Parliament. Similarly Bismarck made use of the Roman Question as a scarecrow for Italy, in order to induce her to become the ally of the Central Powers. Thus Austria obtained, in the first place, a docile instrument in the capital of the province which would prevent the occurrence of Slavophil and annexationist demonstrations at the very headquarters of the Government, and in the second, the conciliation of Italian Irredentism, which kept it from becoming too embarrassing to its own Government, and at the same time provided Italy with some small satisfaction to set off against the many moral sacrifices she had been compelled to offer as a holocaust to Austria's policy in the East.

A grave responsibility, however, rests also with the Croat party, which gave way to the Government over the question of Zara from notions of provincial opportunism, and other more or less tangible economic advantages.

In conclusion of this very brief sketch of the political vicissitudes of Zara, let us add that if the Italo-Dalmatians have not yet completely disappeared from the political scene of the province, they have only Austria to thank for it. If Austria had introduced universal suffrage for the elections of the Diet, if she had dissolved the Municipal Council of Zara and permitted the municipal elections to be carried out honestly and according to law as she ought to have done, instead of pursuing ulterior political ends, there would be no word to-day of Italo-Dalmatians, and the most inveterate of them would have had to leave the Dalmatian shores in search of other platforms for their ill-advised activity.

We are fortunately able to reproduce here the electoral proclamation of 13th March, 1861, issued by the National Committee of Zara, for the elections for the first legislative session of the Diet of the Kingdom of Dalmatia. This document is a sound testimonial to the vitality, the calm self-reliance and dignity of the National party in the Dalmatian capital before the advent of the Austrian Constitutional era. The proclamation was issued in both languages. The text runs as follows:

TO THE ELECTORS OF THE CITY AND ELECTORAL DISTRICT OF ZARA.

CITIZEN ELECTORS!

His Majesty I.R.A. has proclaimed it His sovereign will that the next Dalmatian Diet, for which you are called upon to elect the Deputies, should, above all things, devote itself to the choice of the delegates who are to adjust the relations of public right between the Kingdom of Dalmatia and the Kingdoms of Slavonia and Croatia. Vital interests, both national and private, depend upon the adjustment of these relations in a sense which shall bring us nearer to our Slav brothers; wherefore we call upon you to keep your minds fixed chiefly upon this matter in electing the men in whom you place your confidence.

The development of the free national institutions, enjoyed of old by the Dalmatian people when it was great and glorious, and their modification to suit the spirit of progress of the present age, is what ought to inspire every one who desires the welfare of the present generation and the generations of the future. But since, during the course of time, vested interests have arisen which may have to suffer by this development

of the general interest, it must be the special care of the men to whom you give your votes, so to reconcile these interests that the welfare of all may be obtained with the least possible disadvantage to the individual.

Our national institutions are based upon the autonomy of the Commune; this autonomy was the strength of our ancestors, whereby they left us a rich heritage of wisdom and wealth, and it was the bond of union whereby the inhabitants of the towns and those of the country formed one single people. To regain this strength and restore this bond we must bring back this institution into force, and call upon the whole nation to take part in our civil life. And this can only be done by the use of the national language.

But the introduction of this language into public life must be effected slowly and by degrees, so that such persons whose subsistence depends upon the use of the Italian language, may not find themselves exposed to the risk of losing what they have gained and own by their labour and trouble.

Besides this, the Italian language ought always to be cultivated as a means of maintaining intellectual relations with a people enjoying a civilization superior to our own, a nation to which we have been greatly indebted hitherto, and whence our art and literature have derived so much splendour and honour.

The judicial institutions and Civil Laws upon which the mutual relations of citizens have been based for the last half-century ought not to be altered, except in so far as they may be improved by judicious reform. They present no obstacle to our living a more vigorous life, and one more in keeping with the spirit of the nation to which our people belongs. They are also calculated

to permit all Dalmatians without distinction to share in this spirit, regardless of birth and condition.

The awakening of the whole people to national life presents the sole means of educating the rural citizen, of redeeming him from the slavery of ignorance, the source of distress and crime. Then it will become possible to extend efficient help to agriculture, the profession practised by the greater number of the Dalmatians, the profession upon which all depend for their food, but chiefly the landed proprietor and the tenant-farmer.

The renewed prosperity of agriculture will revive the professions which are allied to it; and we shall see the present depression giving place to the enterprise of a free people intent upon industry and commerce, the strength and resource of nations, the genius of modern social life.

Dalmatian mercantile marine, which takes the lead in the Mediterranean because of the soundness of its vessels and the excellence of its crews—and is moreover second to none abroad—will, by the fuller development of national relations with our brother peoples, find employment and profit at home, instead of being compelled, as at present, to seek both in foreign service.

Zara, this ancient and glorious capital of a province of 400,000 inhabitants, will become one of the two capitals of a people of more than two millions, united by the bond of language, equal liberty, ancient memories and common misfortunes.

No one will presume to deny to Zara the claim to become the centre of the judicial magistrature of the three united Kingdoms, being, as she is already, the chief city of a province where modern legislation has taken firm root and is represented by scholarly judicial experts and unimpeachable magistrates. Nor, moreover, could

the repository of the common interests of the inhabitants of the Eastern Adriatic shore be transferred to any other place.

CITIZEN ELECTORS!

These are the feelings and opinions of the Committee elected by a party of yourselves, in order to facilitate the election of the Deputies who are to be your representatives in the forthcoming Diet. They are the opinions and the feelings which, so the Committee holds, ought to guide those to whom you give your votes! Give them, then, your careful consideration. Whoever can support them with straightforwardness and courage, will be able to discuss and decide upon any subject concerning the welfare and prosperity of Dalmatia. Let love of your country inspire you; let faith in its future decide you.

THE NATIONAL ELECTORAL COMMITTEE.

Pietro Antunović—Pietro Bratanić, Count Giuseppe Borisi, Dr. Michael Klaić—Dr. Francesco Danilo—de Grisogono—Dr. Simeon Bortolazzi—Theodore Jurković Dr. Giovanni Medović—Dr. Francesco Nakić—Dr. Joseph Pastrović—Dr. Teodoro Petranović—Giovanni Vranković—Marko Večeralo—Ciril Zezelj, priest.

ZARA, *15th March*, 1861.

APPENDIX IV

THE SLAV LITURGY IN DALMATIA.

EVERYBODY knows that the brothers Constantine of Salonica, better known by their monastic names of Cyril and Method, were the authors of a great revolution both in the Church of Rome and in the Slav world in the ninth century.

The conversion of the Moravian and Pannonian Slavs, the creation of a Slav alphabet, which the Slav languages had lacked so far, the translation of the Bible into Slav, and finally the celebration of the liturgy in the Slav tongue, authorized by the Popes Adrian II (867–872) and John VIII (872–882)—these are the chief stages in the great Slav Christian movement. History ranks the authors of this movement, Cyril (*d.* 869) and Method (*d.* 885) among the very greatest apostles of Christianity.

Fortunately for their national existence, the Slavs have always formed a group apart in the great Christian family. They were the latest arrivals in a world already old and fashioned almost entirely by the Græco-Romans and the Germans, and only the jealous cult of their native tongue in the Church saved them from national annihilation, although it did not avail to save them from political servitude.

But it was during the time of collapse, after their stormy political career, that the full power of the stupendous life-work of Cyril and Method as an instrument for national

preservation became fully apparent. Without this, Slavdom would probably have been crushed as in a vice between the Latin and German worlds.

In none of the lands that had owned the Latin sway was the Slav liturgic tongue welcomed with greater enthusiasm than in Dalmatia. The Latin clergy, it is true, resisted the introduction of the Slav liturgy in the towns, as was only natural. But their resistance failed to overcome the affection of the populace and the lower clergy for the language of their ancestors. If the populace had been of Latin origin, assuredly it would never have suffered or fought for the employment of a language which is nothing but a mystery and an insult to Latin ears.

During the time of the reign of Pope John X (914–928), the Slav liturgical movement in Dalmatia assumed the aspect of a revolt against the authority of Rome. Angered hereby, John X wrote to the Archbishop John of Spalato forbidding the use of the Slav liturgy, and later on renewed this prohibition in a letter to Tomislav, Duke of Croatia, and Michael, Prince of the Serbian Zahumlje (the present Herzegovina).

This marked the beginning of a violent conflict between the Latin and Slav clergy. We have already touched upon the principal phases of this struggle (see Historical Introduction), and shall not return to them. In spite of prohibitions and the negative results of the Councils of Spalato (which were, however, not without a certain influence upon Ragusa and Cattaro, mainly because of the rivalry existing between the Metropolitan of Spalato and the Metropolitan of Ragusa), the Old Slav tongue, written in the *Glagolitic* alphabet (which is older than the *Cyrillic*), continued to spread in every diocese, and took deep root in Dalmatia. Inspired by memories of the great Bishop Gregory of Nona and his heroic struggle,

the priests refused to celebrate Mass in Latin, especially in the dioceses of Zara and Spalato. It is recorded that in 1177, Pope Alexander III was solemnly received in Zara by the populace and clergy " Slavicis cum cantibus." The use of the Slav liturgy has survived in the dioceses of Senj (Croatia), Veglia, Zara and Spalato, throughout two-thirds of Dalmatia, and—significant phenomenon ! —precisely in the territory which was at one time subject to Venetian influence.

In the seventeenth century the Sovereign Pontiffs approved of the use of the Glagolitic missals for Dalmatia (Pope Urban VIII, on 29th April, 1631). This first authorization was followed by a second in the Statute issued by Pope Innocent X on 22nd February, 1848, approving the Glagolitic breviary, as corrected by the Archbishop Levaković, who had travelled to Russia expressly for this purpose. The Glagolitic liturgy was again approved by Benedict XIV (Statute of 15th August, 1754) and by Pius VI in his Statute " Suprema Potestas," published on 11th March, 1791.

During the years from 1860 to 1889 several Italianizing bishops in Dalmatia have tried to make out that these Papal Statutes merely represented a *toleranda est*, which, by the way, would not in the least alter the fact that both clergy and populace in Dalmatia are almost unanimous in the will to preserve and defend the privilege granted to them by John VIII, the great protector of the Slavs among the Popes (*d.* 882). But, as a matter of fact, the apostolic letter of Urban VIII, " Ecclesia Catholica," granted full and free powers to the priests to read Mass in Latin *or in the Slav tongue.* The Pope added that " every parish priest must be able to use either the Latin or the Slav missal, in accordance with the custom in force."

The celebration of Mass in the Slav tongue persisted into our own day. The Venetian Government never opposed it, nor did the Austrian Government raise any opposition, until the Eastern Question entered upon an acute stage.

Thus in 1857, when Dalmatian Nationalism was at its lowest ebb, there were in the diocese of Spalato (reduced from the rank of an archbishopric to that of a bishopric by the terms of the Bull " Locus beati Petri " of 1824) alone 61 Glagolitic curates and 98 Glagolitic priests holding appointments in the various parishes as vicars or curates.

But since 1860 a change has come over the Austrian Government with regard to its attitude, and it has become hostile to the Old Slav cult. It intervened in Rome to prevent the extension of the old privilege, and in 1889 the number of Glagolitic priests in the diocese of Spalato fell from 98 to 62. Nevertheless, in Traù, that supposed citadel of Italianism, the midday Mass was still read in Old Slav in 1890. Mgr. Calogerà protected the Slav liturgy, faithful to the example of the great Slav archbishops and bishops of the eighteenth century, Mgrs. Kozičić (Spalato), Begna (Zara), Bizza (Spalato), Zmajević (Zara), and Karaman (Spalato).

The Priests' Seminary at Almissa (Omiš), founded by Archbishop Bizza of Spalato (1746–1756), and the Theological Faculty in Zara, founded by the Archbishop Zmajević (1713–1745), were both Slav institutions, and the Old Slav liturgic tongue was—and is—always taught there.

Simultaneously with this rise of the Slav liturgy, the use of the Serbo-Croat vulgar tongue existed and increased both in the towns and in the country for all religious ceremonies, besides the Mass (Baptism, Confirmation, Marriage, Burial, etc.).

In the meantime, even where the Mass is said in Latin, the Gospel and Epistle have always been chanted in Serbo-Croatian in all Dalmatian churches.

This cardinal fact, which bears eloquent witness to the Slav sentiments of the Dalmatians, was publicly recognized in the sitting of the Dalmatian Diet on 17th July, 1887, by Mgr. Maupas, Archbishop of Zara (a Frenchman by extraction), who was an autonomist in politics, and therefore an opponent of the Serbo-Croat National party.

"The honourable Deputies know the province well," he said, "and they know that in all churches, both in the country and in the towns, the people sing in Slav. At all religious functions, with the exception of the Mass, from which the vulgar tongue is excluded, all the chants and hymns are Slav, and even during the Mass the people, as a matter of fact, pronounce the responses in Slav."

In 1889 the Austrian Government, supported as usual by the Italianist party, took up a definitely hostile attitude towards the Slav liturgy. Already in 1887 it had opposed the Montenegrin Concordate, as well as the introduction of the Slav liturgy in the diocese of Antivari.

In this opposition, which was above all things due to the circumstance that the missals for Montenegro, which had been printed in Rome, were not in *Glagolitic* but in *Cyrillic* characters—the alphabet in use in the Russian and Serbian Orthodox churches—the Vienna Government found itself in agreement with the Russian, which objected to the Concordate for a totally different reason. Austria feared a closer alliance between the Montenegrin Catholics and the Serbs and Croats of Dalmatia and Bosnia, and she also feared the introduction of the *Cyrillic* script in Dalmatia. In fact, with the help of the Croat Radicals, an agitation for the Catholics to call themselves

Croats was specially engineered in the diocese of Antivari. Russia, on the other hand, feared a Catholic propaganda among the Orthodox section of the community, carried on through the medium of an identical language and script. Fortunately, Mgr. Strossmayer, supported by Cardinal Bartolini and helped by the Barnabite Father Tondini de' Quarenghi and all the Croatian bishops, gained his point, and the Concordate was concluded.

At this juncture the Dalmatian Diet likewise passed a resolution (17th July, 1887) to obtain from the Holy See the introduction of the Slavo-Glagolitic liturgy in all Dalmatian dioceses. Encouraged by the Slavophil Encyclical "Grande Munus" of Leo XIII (30th September, 1880), the Executive Committee of the Diet drew up a memorandum upon this question, which was forwarded by the Vienna Government to the Dalmatian bishops *ad referendum*. The Bishops of Cattaro, Ragusa, Spalato and the Isles (Lessina, Brazza, Lissa) pronounced themselves in favour of the resolution; the Bishop of Spalato opposed it and the Archbishop of Zara reserved his opinion.

Hereupon Count Kalnoky, Minister for Foreign Affairs, informed the Nuncio, Mgr. Galimberti, of the result of the inquiry by a "highly confidential" note of 13th December, 1889, in which he suggested to the Nuncio to advise the Pope "not to revive either within the Monarchy or abroad an institution which, though appropriate to other times, was no longer suited to present circumstances."

Leo XIII did not yield to the Austrian suggestions. He did not extend the use of the Slav liturgy, but, like his successor Pius X, he approved it for the dioceses of Sinj, Veglia, Zara and Spalato, and, generally speaking, everywhere where it could be proved that it had been

in use for the last thirty years. The movement in favour of the general use of the Slav language in the Dalmatian Church is very strong, especially in the diocese of Spalato, where the clergy, almost without exception, has been won over to the idea of divine service in the Slav tongue.

All of which proves:

1. The Slav character of the Dalmatian people;

2. The persistence of the ties which link the people of Dalmatia with the Balkan Slavs in spite of the immense pressure exercised by the Latin clergy during past centuries; and finally—

3. The systematic opposition of the Austrian Government, which is only one of the countless proofs of Austria's irreconcilable hostility to every manifestation of the Slav Idea; contrary to what has been asserted in the camp of the enemy and by the detractors of Dalmatian Slavism.

APPENDIX V

RULES OF THE TURIN CENTRAL SOCIETY FOR AN ITALO-SLAV ALLIANCE.

RULE I.—The Central Society has its headquarters in Turin. It undertakes to organize branch societies in other Italian provincial capitals.

RULE II.—Both Italians and non-Italians can belong to the Society.

RULE III.—The members of the Society undertake to work for the object which it has in view.

RULE IV.—The object of the Society is to maintain active and brotherly love between Italians and Slavs, for the independence and prosperity of both nations, and with a view to establishing between Slavs and Magyars the same amicable relations as those existing between Magyars and Italians and between both of these nations and Poland. The Society will take the necessary steps, so that the Moldo-Valachs, who share a common origin with the Italian peoples and common interests with the Slavs and Magyars, may give their help to the common cause.

RULE V.—No one can become a member of the Society without having been introduced by a written application signed by the two Secretaries and passed by the Society at an ordinary meeting.

RULE VI.—The Society may admit Honorary Members, who must be nominated by it at its ordinary meetings.

RULE VII.—The Executive of the Society to consist of a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary and two Vice-Secretaries, all appointed by the members of the Society by a majority vote. The term of their office shall be for six months.

RULE VIII.—The President, the Vice-President, the Secretary and two Vice-Secretaries must be Italians.

RULE IX.—The President will choose the Treasurer of the Society from among the members.

RULE X.—The Branch Societies will each have a President and a Secretary, who must likewise be Italians.

RULE XI.—The Executive of the Central Society and the Executive of the Branch Societies will be in frequent correspondence, and will keep each other informed as to the activities of the Society.

RULE XII.—The Society will also be in touch with other societies formed, or about to be formed, among the Slavs for the same object.

RULE XIII.—The Society will hold an ordinary meeting once a fortnight. Extraordinary meetings will take place whenever the President considers it advisable.

RULE XIV.—As its pecuniary resources increase, the Society will undertake to print at its own expense and to facilitate the publication of such scientific and literary works in Slav or Italian language as it may consider helpful for its object.

RULE XV.—The funds of the Society will be derived from an entrance fee of five francs, due from every member of the Society, and a subscription of five francs, paid in advance, for the first three months. The amount of this subscription will be fixed, from session to session, at a general meeting of all the members in accordance with the requirements of the Society.

RULE XVI.—The Society will publish a Slavo-

Italian journal, which will appear at least once a fortnight and will be entitled *The Journal of the Italo-Slav Alliance.*

RULE XVII.—The present rules may be modified at subsequent meetings of the Society.

(Published in the daily paper *New Italy*, in Venice, No. 27, under the date of 30th March, 1849, Library of St. Mark 763, Journals Nos. 1848–1849–55962.)

APPENDIX VI

MANIFESTO TO THE AUSTRIAN SLAVS (1848).

SLAV PEOPLES!

Even before Christ had brought the religion of love and sacrifice to this world, you had a profound sense of brotherhood; and the original form of your Government bears the imprint of this.

To-day, after long centuries during which you did not know one another, you are awakened, and gathered together for the first National Assembly at Prague; and your first word was one of brotherhood. On the breasts of your young warriors behold the device: "FOR SLAVDOM AND LIBERTY!"—and it is in the name of these sentiments, of these sacred rights of nationality and liberty that we express our love to you, Slavs, and that we invite you to contract an alliance which will secure civil and political liberty for you as well as for ourselves.

We do not hesitate to speak to you of alliance and peace since we know that you are on the point of treating with Hungary and breaking with Austria, whom we shall fight to the bitter end, as it is impossible to deal with her.

In defending our rights upon our own soil, we shall fight for your cause also, O Slav peoples.

We appeal to you for moral support, because you, too, have your independence, your nationality and liberty to regain. And we also demand practical

support from you, since in your battle with Austria your triumph is dependent upon two conditions: first, that Austria is weakened by the detachment of the nationalities comprised within her territory; second, that your own nationality should be, geographically speaking, strongly centralized. For each of these considerations, Austria's victory in Italy will profit only Austria, and not you.

Our proximity to each other, O Slavs, the traditions of the past, the interests of the present and the future, impose upon us the duty to form a close alliance. In the East, North and West you are encircled by your inveterate enemies; on one side only can you find support—on that of Italy.

For fourteen centuries there has been no war between us. Ragusa, the Illyrian Athens, used to be the fair and noble expression of Italo-Slav civilization.

Present interests call even more insistently for an understanding. A strong and independent Italy, your natural neighbour, will protect your efforts to regain your independence and liberty and to allay the perils which would menace either. Moreover, she would be the intermediary between you and France. Resurrected together by the principle of nationality, we need not fear that we shall see discord engendered between us by the fact that the boundaries of our two nations coincide with the boundaries of our territories. The Slavs and Italians who live in perfect accord side by side in Istria and Dalmatia show you the picture of two friendly peoples, such as we shall be in the future, such as we propose to be henceforth. The Adriatic, which you call the *Azure Sea*, and of which we, the Italians and Slavs, are the masters, because it is chiefly we who make use of it, will vouch for the development

of our industry and commerce; and the latter shall not be hampered by customs barriers.

Consider then, O Slavs, that without a strong and independent Italy you cannot be strong and independent either. Italy has an interest in your victory in Austria and in your brotherly understanding with the Magyars and Rumanes.

Not only among the Poles, whose sympathy for the Italian cause has been guaranteed by incontestable proofs, but also among the other Slav families in Austria there are many enlightened spirits, who understand the advantages which would accrue to you and to us by this alliance. We appeal more particularly to them.

Tell us frankly, what have you gained by this liberty which Austria has deceitfully imposed upon you and to which you so ardently aspired? Less slaves than formerly, you approve by your silence Austria's crimes against Italy. Austria takes advantage of this silence and says to the foreign Courts: "My peoples are free; they discuss and establish their laws themselves; and yet neither Bohemians nor Illyrians protest against the war with Italy. Is that not a proof that even the Slavs do not recognize the rights which the Italians arrogate to themselves?"

In this way, Slavs, you are making common cause with Austria and with Russia, who is Austria's support in the Italian war. Because the Autocrat knows well that if Austria were to lose those five million Italians, you Slavs would agree with the Magyars and Rumanes, you would vanquish him, and you would be free and independent, which he does not wish you to be. You make common cause with the enemies of the rights of nationality and liberty. Then how can you lay claim to the recovery of your own liberty?

A state of affairs like this cannot go on. Even the least enlightened among you must realize that Austria is betraying your race; that the nationality of a people does not consist solely in being allowed to speak its mother tongue, but in possessing that full independence besides, to which we Italians aspire, and which alone will give us satisfaction.

And since you, Slavs, desire to come to an agreement with the Magyars and to break away from Austria, we proffer you a brotherly hand. Take it; and in place of a treacherous Austria you will have fifteen million Italians as allies, friends and brothers; and eventually all Italy. Therefore let us unite; and do not seek the protection of the Germans and the Russians. Unite with us. Our united forces will suffice to establish your nationality.

PROVISIONAL OFFICE.
LORENZO VALERIO, *President.*
LEONE, *Professor, Vice-President.*
GIORGIO PALLAVICINI, *Vice-President.*
PAOLO BELGIOJOSO, *Secretary.*

(Published in No. 26 of the paper *L'Italia Nuova.* Venice, March 19, 1849. Library of S. Mark. 763 journals, No. 1848–49—55962, pp. 102–103.)

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